

Combined with "The New York Communist"

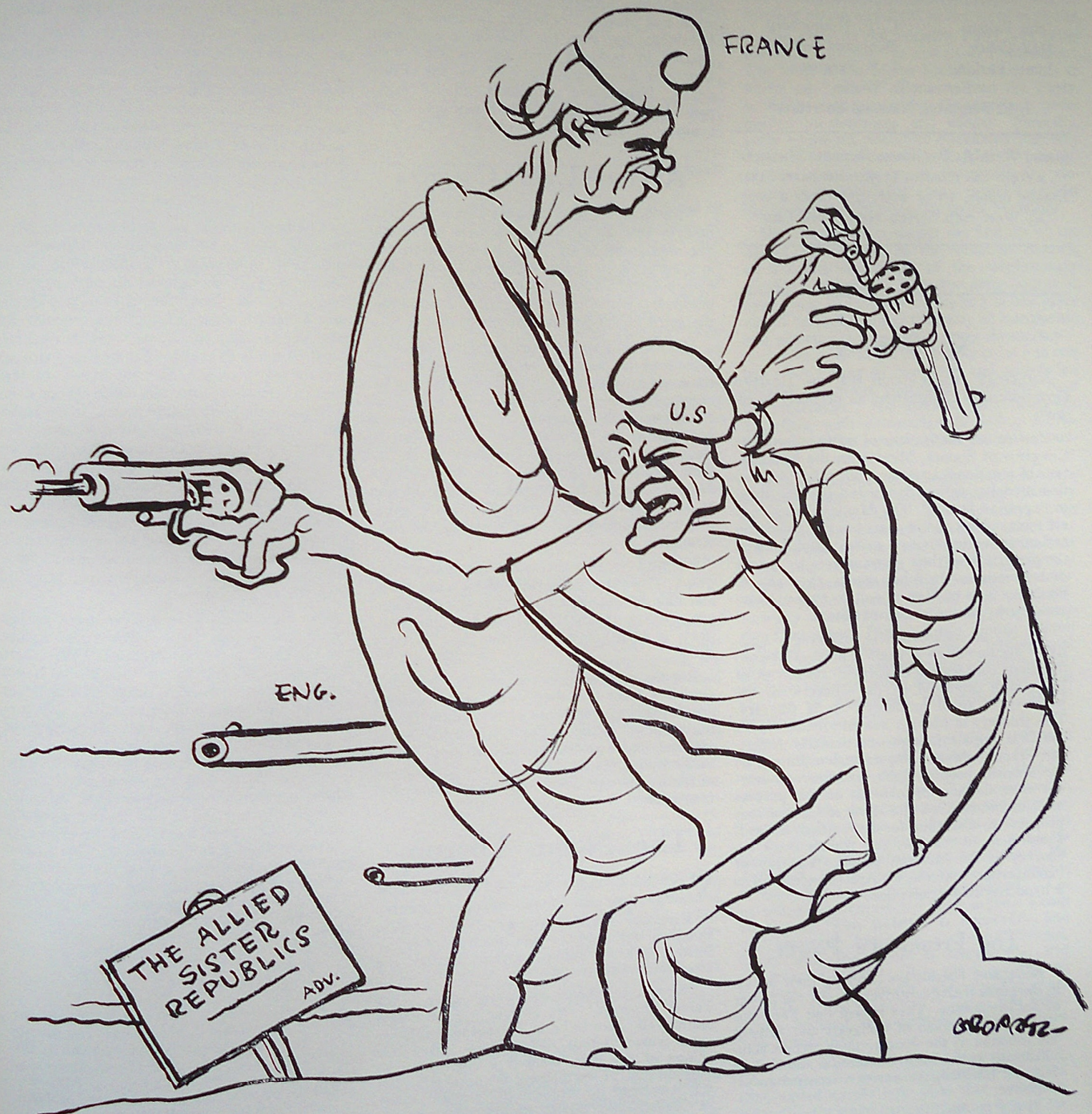
The Revolutionary Age

Devoted to the International Communist Struggle

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Still Feeding Russia

The Revolutionary Age

Combined with The New York "Communist"

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Confiscatory

AMERICAN capital claims that the Mexican Government is confiscating its property in oil wells.

Now comes another cry of confiscation. The Congress of Sonora, Mexico, in the introduction of a national agrarian policy, has decided to nationalize certain lands and pay for them in "agrarian bonds." The Mexican land-owners must submit to this law; but the American and other foreign owners protest, and demand the protection of their governments by means of intervention. In other words, they aim to break the laws of Mexico and its national sovereignty by means of armed force.

The cry of confiscation is subterfuge. Capitalist accumulation is itself a process of confiscation: confiscation of national resources, of the wealth produced by the workers, of the property of small producers. It is thievery. This thievery in Mexico was enormous. Under the Diaz regime foreign—particularly American—capital thieved the natural resources of the Mexican people. Robbery, fraud and murder were the accompaniments of this process of confiscation. Now the Mexican Government proposes to discipline foreign capital, make it subservient to the law, and restore these resources to the Mexican people. The cry of "confiscation" uttered by American capital is a hypocrisy and a deception.

The President's Power

BOURGEOIS liberals are cracking their heads, in the peace treaty controversy, over the power of the Presidency. They lament that President Wilson, independent of Congress and without the sanction of the Senate, made certain commitments at the Paris Conference and that he is using his bludgeon power to compel an acceptance.

It is a fact that the President has the power

to make war or peace independent of Congress by simply so maneuvering foreign policy as to leave Congress no other course but to approve. The President in these matters is practically Dictator. Shortly before this country went to war, Colonel George Harvey in the *North American Review* declared that we need not look to the Kaiser or the Czar for the example of an autocrat: there was a bigger autocrat in the White House citing Wilson's course toward Mexico and Germany as proof.

The President is Dictator. The framers of the American Constitution consciously arranged things so as to baffle the will of the masses in relation to the vital functions of government: their's was the real instinct of a ruling class. Certain functions of government were not assigned either to Congress or the President; but with the development of complexity in industry and government, these functions have been usurped by the Presidency. Imperialism completes the development of centralizing all vital functions of government in an executive autocracy.

A Trade Union Congress

THE "international" Trades Union Congress now in session at Amsterdam, is a peculiar but instructive affair. The one struggle there, is a struggle of conservatism against conservatism,—while in the open spaces beyond, the proletariat is revolutionizing the old world and the spirit of action fires the imagination.

Much of the time of the Congress has been consumed in making the German delegation issue an avowal of guilt and repentance concerning the war. The Germans made an "explanation;" the Congress accepted it but did not express its "satisfaction;" so each faction claims a "victory"—the Germans at having their explanation accepted, the other at the Congress not having expressed its satisfaction at the explanation. Surely, these are great proletarian problems! This is waging the class struggle!

Nothing creative is coming out of this Congress. The old bureaucratic officials are there, and they do not represent the new revolutionary upsurge in the unions; in fact, the Congress is trying to crush the revolutionary spirit.

But the trades unions are not the solid conservative force that they were. Vital currents are developing—currents of revolutionary initiative and action. The transformation in political and economic condition must necessarily transform the unions. It is a vital task of the Communist Party to facilitate this transformation.

The Negro Pogrom

VIOLENT clashes, involving large numbers of white and colored men, have occurred in a number of cities. The experience of Washington was repeated in a much more tragic form in Chicago, where scores of dead are the aftermath of the riots.

Chicago represents an armed camp, with Terror supreme. The citizens of Chicago might well yearn to be in Petrograd and Moscow, where riotous disturbances are now things of the past. And it is interesting to observe that, at the moment the press is urging the American government to "restore" order in Mexico and Soviet Russia, order is not maintained in the United States.

There is much discussion of the causes of these race riots, one of the most disgraceful aspects of American civilization. Some ascribe them to the insolence of the Negro; others to the decline of faith in God, still others to the war.

The war is an important factor, not simply in the sense that it has generated ideals of force, but in the sense that it has developed a more militant spirit of resentment and independence in the Negro. During the war they were flattered; in the army and in the munition plants they were necessary and were the equal of the whites; they have been in the fight to realize democracy—but now they discover that they are condemned to the old conditions of discrimination and inferiority. The fighting spirit is still strong in them, and they rebel.

The antagonisms between the Negroes and the whites has become merged in the economic problem—or rather, the economic problem is used to foment race hatred. The war has disturbed American economic conditions, causing a very important migration of all labor, but particularly of Negro labor. Competition for jobs is multiplied, and a racial struggle develops instead of a class struggle against Capitalism.

The new sense of independence in the Negro must be bent to the uses of the militant labor movement. The Negro is justified in his resentment; even though the offended party, the Negro does not incite the riots; in Washington and Chicago whites have the trouble. But the Negro—and the white worker, equally—must be made to realize that this race struggle is suicidal, promotes the supremacy of their joint oppressors. But the white workers, unfortunately, misled and deceived, do not realize this. The A. F. of L. recently decided to allow Negro workers into the unions—but this was done simply to perfect the job trusts and "control" the influx of Negro labor. But the other day the Federated Employees' Association of the Pennsylvania Railroad resolved against the employment of Negro workers on that system; and at least four distinct divisions of labor affiliated with the Association are identified with the A. F. of L.

The old unions have discriminated against the Negro, as they have discriminated against the unskilled and the Orientals. Most Negro labor is unskilled, which makes the Negro problem economically a phase of the larger problem of the unskilled generally. This problem is most important, and will become the test of revolutionary Socialism.

The American proletariat is composed largely of the Negro and the foreigner, both of whom are mostly unskilled workers. In order to break the A. F. of L. and develop a revolutionary union movement, it is necessary to awaken and mobilize the unskilled. The Negro, accordingly, constitutes a vital problem of our revolutionary movement. The race problem is simply a phase of the general social problem, which the Communist revolution alone can solve.

The H. C. of L.

AFTER almost a year of roaming in the mystic realms of "world reconstruction," President Wilson is again in the mud of reality. The general and acute discontent at the high cost of living has compelled the government to consider the problem. During the war people were partly reconciled with the high cost of living by means of more regular employment, partly terrorized

from making any protest by the bludgeon of the patriotickster and the Sedition Acts, and partly cajoled by the hope of prosperity and lower prices after the coming of peace. Peace did come; but the promises did not materialize. On the contrary: unemployment and lower wages came; while the cost of living, instead of declining, soared upwards again. Capital insists on its profits, during peace as during war.

There is "feverish activity" in the Wilson Administration concerning the high cost of living. Conferences are being convened, investigations ordered; the President is to address Congress on the domestic problems of food prices, race riots, strikes, discontent generally—another cascade of verbal syrup with which to drug the minds of the people. Secretary Baker is disposing of the army's food surplus under terms "making it available to the people"—a drop in the ocean of requirements. Congress is considering legislation of the most puerile character. This is action on the crisis!

The wrath of the people is being cunningly directed against the meat packers—the whole capitalist system being guilty, it tries to evade its guilt by making a particular trust the scapegoat. This wrath against the trusts breaks out now and again; a particular trust is "disciplined" and legislation adopted; but still the trusts proceed to make profits and monopolize industry. The memory of the masses is short, but one may still remember the wrath against the Standard Oil Trust, its prosecution and "dissolution"—and then reorganization, with the trust still dominating the oil industry, and its stock more valuable than previously, dividends still higher.

The claim is that the "Big Five" among the meat packers constitute a trust. Precisely; but there is plenty of anti-trust legislation: why has it not been invoked? Simply because as a matter of fact, the meat trust (and the finance-capital it represents) is more powerful than the government. During the war Food Administrator Hoover realized "that the only way he could deal with the big packing interests was to let them deal with themselves—so he invited them to participate in a system of self-government which included a government exercised by them over all the lesser lights in the food industry." The public imagined that the government dominated the trusts; but it was the trusts which dominated the government, using the government to control competitors and garner fabulous profits.

Trust "investigations" mean simply playing with the high cost of living. That was the experience of yesterday, and is the game of today. The high cost of living is a product of the whole system of relations, national and international, of Capitalism. To break the high cost of living it is necessary to break these relations, which are a fetter upon the forces of production—to substitute production for use in place of production for profit.

But they are making the meat trust the scapegoat. Senator Kenyon, Progressive, has introduced a measure to "regulate" the packing industry—to drive out the packers from control of stockyards, to make refrigerator cars and common carriers, to license the packers and confine them to the packing business. But these measures would not lower the cost of living, except slightly and temporarily perhaps, they would simply foster the illusions of "independence" of the small producers, but with the trust actually still dominant. It is precisely these small producers who are most active in the campaign against the trust, still fondling the illusion of independence and success.

The meat trust of the "Big Five" is a typical product of the monopolization of industry by finance-capital—characteristic of the era of Imperialism.

The facts, as gathered by the Federal Trade Commission, are briefly as follows:

There is "an approaching packer domination of all important foods in this country and international control of meat products with foreign companies"; the "Big Five," the five packing companies dominating the industry, jointly or separately hold interests of 762 companies, producing or dealing in 775 commodities; their gross sales for 1918 amounted to \$3,217,000,000; they control the hide market and can regulate the price of shoes; they control 87 per cent of the production of lard-compounds, 82 per cent of cattle slaughtering, at least half of the poultry, eggs and cheese in the main channels of interstate commerce, as well as scores of other commodities over which they exercise partial control or complete monopoly. The "Big Five" are now completing a monopoly over meat-substitutes. They pursue the usual trust methods of competition, such as securing from railroads superior service at lower rates than wholesale grocers pay for similar service.

All this means monopoly, international in scope. The British Government has been investigating the "American Meat Trust," and according to former Food Controller J. R. Clynes, the trust is a peril against which "some effective form of inter-Allied action is not impossible." Monopoly is international.

The financial aspects of the Packers' Trust are important. Their financial power is very general and mighty. "They are factors," according to the Federal Trade Commission, "in cattle-loan companies making the necessary loans to growers and feeders of live-stock; are interested in railways and private-car lines transporting live stock and manufactured animal-products; in most of the important stockyard companies—the public market for the bulk of food-animals—and in live-stock trade papers on which growers and feeders rely for market news. They are interested in banks from which their competitor packing-houses borrow money; in companies supplying machinery, ice, salt, materials, boxes, etc. . . . deal in hides, oleo, fertilizer."

This centralization, accordingly, is not industrial as much as it is financial: it is the domination of industry by finance-capital, for purposes of speculation, market control and world monopoly.

The centralization of production should mean plenty for all. Under Capitalism, it simply means hunger and more regular profits. Centralization under Capitalism "regulates" production in order to insure profits; and part of this "regulation" consists of limiting production. This limitation of production, necessary to Capitalism, is a factor in high prices and responsible for the impossibility of Capitalism ever assuring plenty to all.

The packers are part and parcel of that financial Imperialism which now dominates American business, and the world. To crush their power means to crush financial Imperialism—that is why all promises of relief under Capitalism are illusory. Congress can not act: it is impotent. The only way out is economic reconstruction by means of the Communist Revolution.

Unity

HERE is a magic in the plea of "unity" that captures the sentimental Socialist. But unity is not unity unless it is of fundamentals—a unity of deeds and not sim-

ply of words. As is usual with instinctive folk philosophy, the adage "in unity there is strength" constitutes only a partial truth.

The Social-Democratic Party of Germany made a fetish of unity; and the consequences were deplorable. The organization unity was maintained by the sacrifice of principles, by concession after concession to non-Socialist groups and purposes; until the Social-Democratic Party was not a unity but a swamp. According to Franz Mehring, the fatal defect of the Independent Socialist Party was that it split away from the old party too late. The indecision of the seceding elements bred indecision in the new party. When the test of action comes, the indecision that that develops out of superficial unity proves disastrous, inhibiting action and fatal to the unity of deeds.

The unity of the Socialist Party was never more than formal. It was never fundamental. The loose policy of the Socialist Party was to invite all "radical" elements into the Party, with the consequence that the party was never unified on purposes and means. Formally, petty bourgeois Socialism dominated; but only formally; the moment the call of revolutionary Socialism was heard, the proletarian elements in the Socialist Party revolted against the domination of petty bourgeois Socialism.

But this revolt is simply the first act of the drama. The logic of the situation compels an absolute separation of the revolutionary proletarian elements from the petty bourgeois moderates. The unity of the two in one party would be equivalent to the unity of bourgeoisie and proletariat in parliamentary democracy—the bourgeoisie would inexorably come into control again: unity of bourgeois and proletarian necessarily means bourgeois domination over the proletariat. The unity of petty bourgeois Socialism with proletarian Socialism inevitably means the supremacy of the petty bourgeois.

It is necessary, accordingly, to rigidly separate the two. This means breaking the unity of the Socialist Party. But this unity, let us remember, was broken by the moderates. Nor is it the task of the Left Wing to restore that unity; the restoration of the old pestilential "unity" means abandoning the tasks of revolutionary Socialism. Out of this split, historically necessary and vitalizing, must come the Communist Party of the United States, affiliated with the Communist International and united on revolutionary fundamentals. Division and separation are indispensable in the process of developing revolutionary understanding and unity.

But, objects the sentimentalist, we must unite all our strength against the common enemy—bourgeois oppression. But strength comes not out of the "unity" of compromise, but out of the unity of conscious and identical revolutionary ideals. In the first two months of the Russian Revolution, with a crisis infinitely more acute than ours, comrades in the Bolshevik Party urged unity of all Socialist forces. But Lenin implacably objected. "Let us not isolate ourselves," they urged. Lenin answered: "This isolation is temporary, and will ultimately become a source of strength. Unity with the others is compromise, and compromise is fatal. It is not a question of numbers, but of correctly expressing the actual tendency of the revolution." Lenin was right: events justified his relentless opposition to a fraudulent unity.

Unity? Yes—the revolutionary unity of a Communist Party, uncompromising, implacable, united on the only basis that makes for strength—the unity of conscious agreement on revolutionary fundamentals.

Here and There

ON August 5th the Lusk Committee woke from a sound sleep and gave the Left Wing headquarters another raid. The first raid, which occurred June 21st, discovered *The New York Communist* on the day after it had suspended publication. After six weeks of careful sleuthing Archibald Stevenson discovered *The Revolutionary Age*, and on Tuesday last at ten minutes to three a pair of timid-looking cops slunk up the stairway of headquarters armed with a handful of summonses, ordering everybody connected with *The Revolutionary Age* to appear before the Attorney General at three o'clock.

The editors happening to be out to lunch, the cops served the shipping clerk, the stenographers and Comrade Bert Wolfe, who immediately left for the hearing. Comrade I. E. Ferguson, the National Secretary, went along as attorney; and when they found out who he was, they served him too.

The hearing was secret. The persons who testified were told not to breathe a word outside what had happened to them in the dark, mysterious chamber. They were asked how much circulation the paper had, where it was printed, and what was Comrade MacAlpine's address. As no one but the Business Manager knew these things, not much information was obtained.

After sitting outside the room all afternoon, Comrade Wolfe and Comrade Ferguson were told to go home. The Luskers were evidently afraid to tackle them.

After a severe cross-examination, the Luskers evidently thought of looking at the Union Label on the paper—and thus they discovered the dreadful secret of where it was printed. They then sent for the printer, and, it is rumored, questioned him earnestly about how a linotype machine works.

All this ridiculous pussy-footing was, we are credibly informed, undertaken in order to try and get enough evidence to back up the indictments which it is framed up the Grand Jury will hand down on August 11th.

If the District Attorney can base indictments on the evidence of half a dozen "I—don't—knows," we are doomed!

* * *

Every spring a group of prominent New York politicians meet in Albany and hold what is known as a legislature. At the end of the session it is usually thought necessary to provide a summer vacation for a certain number of persons who have information regarding what really happened during the session. Some say that the purpose of this custom is to prevent these people from making their knowledge public, but be that as it may, the fact remains that these vacations are of yearly occurrence. This year New York City was picked as the vacation ground. An appropriation of \$30,000 was made to cover traveling and hotel expenses. The fortunate ones are now known to fame as the Lusk Committee, and, while they are enjoying the pleasures for which the city is famous, they are supposed to conduct an investigation into Bolshevism for the purpose of placing as much misinformation as possible before those who will assemble in Albany next year.

In spite of the hot weather the committee has been very active, sitting at least one day every week. Some evil-minded persons have been heard to say that this activity is in a large measure due to the fact that prohibition is in force, and that it is common knowledge that the

members of the committee simply can't stand the 2.75. However, the fact remains that the committee has obtained a tremendous amount of publicity when it is remembered that during the past few months three murders, two divorce cases, Peace, prohibition, the trans-Atlantic flights, and the arrival of President Wilson of Paris for a short vacation in this country have kept the linotypes busy.

For a time it looked as if the committee's efforts would be fruitless, owing to the fact that the U. S. Senate investigation has hogged all the spicy and sensational details of Bolshevism, through its good fortune in getting a clergyman to testify. But the Lusk Committee has at last unearthed something. We cull the following from *The New York Tribune*:

Mme Sarah Naumovna Ravvich, said to have been sent to this country by Leon Trotsky to organize the forces of unrest and revolution, with a view of seizing the government (and bringing it back to him tied up with Red ribbon) is now being sought by operatives of the Lusk Joint Committee on Bolshevism. Mme Ravvich, described to the committee as the one who directed the betrayal of Russia, arrived in this country some time ago under an assumed name. According to information to the committee she is said to have served Germany well in the late war. She was one of those allowed to pass through Germany in sealed cars from Switzerland to Russia just prior to the overthrow of the Constituent Assembly by the Bolsheviks.

Immediately after evidence had been presented to the committee yesterday that Mme Ravvich and others who were active in the Bolshevik revolution were in America, Senator Clayton R. Lusk sent for Immigration Inspector A. B. Schell, who was assigned to the committee. . . . Schell was requested to ascertain just how many of the agents of Trotsky had entered through Ellis Island in the past three years.

We learn on good authority that the committee has reasons for believing that Mme Ravvich is none other than the famous Mrs. Trotsky, who was last heard of on her way to Switzerland with several thousand pounds of gold in her stocking. It is of course quite well known that Trotsky is one of those heartless brutes who believe that wives should be put to work, in fact there is good reason for believing that he has several wives working for him at present. The fact that Mme Ravvich entered the country under an assumed name will not prevent Inspector Schell from getting all the information desired as there is a complete record of all Bolshevik agents who enter at Ellis Island.

We understand that every person entering the country is required to give particulars regarding his or her business. Also each person traveling under an assumed name is required to inform the authorities of this fact, stating in clear tones, first the assumed name and then the real name, thus:

"Assumed name, Jones, J-o-n-e-s. Real name, Fish, F-i-s-h."

The immigration authorities ask each person whether he or she is one of Trotsky's agents, and when the reply is in the affirmative a careful note is made in a little book which each inspector carries with him for this purpose. The only difficulty that may be experienced by the inspector in getting the information desired by the committee lies in the fact that until recently immigrants were not asked whether they were working for Lenin. Secret agents are of course not expected to volunteer information about themselves but only to answer the questions asked, consequently many persons who replied "No" to the question "Are you Trotsky's agent?" might have been working for Lenin and of course they did not volunteer this information. This difficulty is being met, however, and now each inspector has a complete list of all members of the Bolshevik government and thus Russian agents have no chance of escaping detection.

Bolshevikjabs

"RAILROAD workers won't brook return of roads to privat rule," says a headline—and the mild mannered conductor who punches our commutation ticket doesn't look in the least like a Bolshevik. Why he hasn't even got a beard and his hair is cut quite short.

* * *

"Socialist Government Replaces Kun Regime," says *The New York Call*. Now that nasty proletarian dictatorship has gone, and democracy, with equal suffrage and everything, is saved once more.

* * *

Congress is going to investigate the high cost of living, so the packers have been forced to raise prices half-a-cent to meet the expenses of sending witnesses to Washington.

* * *

"Make money scarce and the cost of living will drop," says Senator Myers. It is now the clear duty of all patriotic employers to reduce wages and thus save the workers from themselves.

* * *

"The Congress now being held in Luzerne is the last gasp of the so-called 'Second International,' held under the direction of the International Socialist Bureau of Brussels," says *The New York Call*.

Choked, we suppose, because Washington wouldn't give Algeron Lee a passport!

* * *

We understand that Senator Hiram Johnson, after consultation with Morris Hillquit, William Jennings Bryan, and other well-known popular leaders, has decided to form a new party. Among the planks will be: Withdrawal from Russia, amnesty for Tom Mooney, repeal of the Espionage Act, in fact everything the Right Wing wants, including repudiation of Proletarian Dictatorship.

* * *

Never mind the National Emergency Convention, comrades of the Right Wing, wait till you see what will happen when the Republicans meet!

* * *

Judging from the reports of the Amsterdam Trades Union Congress Sammy Gompers wants the war to start all over again—the German delegates are not nearly humble enough.

* * *

But while Sammy's lashing the Germans quite a lot of union men, who have not had the opportunity of traveling abroad, have an altogether mistaken idea of their functions—they are talking about One Big Union.

* * *

It certainly looks like as if Mexico was going to be found guilty of having oil wells.

* * *

The English Crown Prince is on his way to America according to press reports. The Prince of Wales must not, however, be confused with that other Crown Prince. It is a fact that they are both crown princes, and that the chances of either of them ever sitting on a throne are rather slim, it is also a fact that they are related to each other, but the one that is coming to America is a democratic prince—he was down in a coal mine once.

Liar or Just Doesn't Know?

By John Reed

FOR the past year or so many people have been calling Woodrow Wilson a hypocrite. Mollie Steimer got fifteen years for doing it; Oswald Garrison Villard hasn't been arrested yet. The defenders of the President still repeat, after every new atrocious act of his, that he just doesn't know.

The Soviet Government of Hungary has fallen, and the capitalist press is exulting over the fact that this catastrophe is due chiefly "to the pressure of Captain Thomas Gregory, American food controller in Hungary." In other words, the United States Government starved the Hungarian People's Government to death; and that by direct order of the President of the United States. Can Wilson's friends still tell us that he doesn't know?

They will have very little to say after the latest Presidential pronouncement—the statement about American troops in Siberia, and why they must be kept there. It contains a number of misstatements of fact which, if they had been uttered by anybody else, would be called lies, and treated as lies should be. However, having been emitted by the Great White Father, the people of the United States will probably suppress their uneasy doubts, the stock market will react favorably, and President Wilson will continue to prosecute his private war against the Russian people.

The President's statement alleges the following reasons for sending American troops to Siberia and keeping them there:

1. To save the Czecho-Slovak armies from "destruction by hostile armies apparently organized by, and often largely composed of, enemy prisoners of war."

2. "To steady any efforts of the Russians at self-defense, or the establishment of law and order, in which they might be willing to accept assistance."

3. To protect Mr. John F. Stevens and a corps of American Engineers who are operating the Siberian Railroads under an agreement with Japan, for the purpose of:

- a. Feeding, clothing and supplying the people of Russia and Siberia.

- b. "The forces of Admiral Kolchak are entirely dependent on these railways."

4. "From these observations it will be seen that the purpose of the continuance of American troops in Siberia is that we, with the concurrence of the great allied powers, may keep open a necessary artery of trade. . . ."

The President evidently did not take the trouble to read the Acting Secretary of State's announcement of Intervention in Russia, on August 5th, 1918; in that extraordinary document mention was made, not of "saving the Czecho-Slovaks from destruction," but of *protecting the rear of the westward-moving Czecho-Slovaks*. As for the "armies... organized by enemy prisoners of war," that hoary myth was exploded by members of the British and American Military Missions, who journeyed through Siberia at the request of the Soviet Government, and reported to their Governments that these legendary "armies of enemy prisoners" did not exist.

We refuse to believe that the President is still ignorant of the kind of Russians who are making "efforts at the establishment of law and order," or of the kind of "law and order" they want to establish. The corrupt adventurer Horvath, the mercenary Semenov, the bloody-handed Kolchak and the renegade Denikin are

the sort of Russians whose "efforts" American troops are supporting. There was the shadow of an argument to be advanced while Messrs. Avksentiev, Zenzinov & Co. maintained their soap-bubble "Government" at Omsk; although these shameless politicians represented no one in Russia except themselves, still they upheld the tradition of capitalist "democracy." But Kolchak and Denikin don't bother with childish make-believes such as Constituent Assemblies; they stand frankly for a restoration of a Czarism in Moscow, and in furtherance of this end they do not hesitate to butcher men, women and children, to suppress every shadow of popular organization—not only labor unions and political parties, but even cooperative societies, zemstvos, and schools. In their hands the grain withheld from the starving masses of Central Russia is made into vodka, with which to stupefy the peasants. Their armies are composed of former Czarist officers, Chinese and Japanese mercenaries, the scum of eastern Asia. They slaughter, rob, rape; they torture women and children, starve whole populations; it is treason to criticize them, punishable with death. They are selling the Russian land, mines and forests to foreigners. The Imperial ensign, surmounted by the twin black eagles of the Romanovs, has been hoisted on the quay at Vladivostok, in the presence of a guard of "honor" of Allied troops.

This is the kind of "effort at self-defense" that American troops are "steading." This is the "law and order" they are endeavoring to "restore." Woodrow Wilson knows it. He knows it. He dares not ask Congress to sanction this expedition in support of brigandage, nor has Congress ever declared war on Russia.

There is much in the papers lately about American soldiers in Siberia being killed by "Bolsheviks." It is considered a dastardly thing for a people to defend themselves against invaders of their country—even though these invaders be Americans, who as everybody knows, gave a "solemn and public promise" not to interfere in Russian politics.

The President has the nerve to repeat this promise. He says, "The instructions to General Graves direct him not to interfere in Russian affairs, but to support Mr. Stevens whenever necessary." Well, what then? Apparently Mr. Stevens' purpose is to keep the Siberian Railways running. Why? A few paragraphs on the President says, "The forces of Admiral Kolchak are entirely dependent upon these railways."

Don't interfere into Russian affairs, but help Admiral Kolchak overthrow the Soviet Government!

Let us use plain words about these matters. The American troops sent to Siberia by Woodrow Wilson, and kept there by him alone, were dispatched to help overthrow the Government set up by the Russian people of their own free will, and are engaged in supporting tyranny against human liberty. In every contact Woodrow Wilson has had with the world, his decision has lain with that of the enemies of freedom and real democracy—in Hungary, Egypt, Germany, Shantung—and to that course he has pledged this nation.

We come now to the very important detail concerning Mr. John F. Stevens, whose activities (running six trains a day on the Chinese Eastern and Trans-Baikal Railways, and other democratic triumphs) fill the body of the President's statement.

The State Department's announcement of Intervention, as I recall it, doesn't say a word about Mr. Stevens. At that time the United States Government was "saving" the Czecho-Slovaks, and combatting fearful hosts of unarmed German prisoners. Mr. Stevens, then, must be explained, and the President does it. Only he doesn't tell all the facts. After relating the story of how Mr. Stevens and the Railway Commission went to Russia at the request of the Kerensky Government, and worked with that Government, the President continues: "Owing to the Bolshevik uprising, and the general chaotic conditions, neither Mr. Stevens nor the Russian Railway Service Corps was able to begin work in Siberia until March, 1918."

He skips a very important episode—an episode of which he knows. He skips this episode because it would spoil his little explanation to the Senate. It happens, however, to be the fact that the American Railway Mission, and Mr. Stevens, *could have begun work in Siberia—and in Russia—long before March 1918*, if they had really wanted to help the Russians and oppose the Germans.

When the Bolshevik uprising took place, Mr. Stevens and his Railway Corps fled to Japan, and sat there, in the best hotels, hobnobbing with the Allied and Japanese Imperialists.

While the Brest-Litovsk negotiations were going on, the Soviet Government asked the American Government to send the Railway Mission into Russia. It promised to appoint Mr. Stevens, or anyone else designated, to be Assistant Commissar of Ways and Communications, with complete authority over half the transportation lines of all Russia. The American Railway Mission was to have charge of removing all guns, ammunition and supplies from the front to where the Germans wouldn't get them, and oversee the entire work of the Russian railways.

But the American Government was not interested, evidently, in saving munitions from the Germans; it was more interested in upsetting the Soviet Government. So Mr. Stevens was ordered to remain in Japan until some reactionary figurehead could be found in Siberia to undertake the Holy War against Socialist Russia. What a dirty story!

The core of the whole miserable excuse is contained in the following clause:

"The situation of the people of Siberia, meantime, is that they have no shoes or warm clothing; they are pleading for agricultural machinery, and for many of the simpler articles of commerce, etc."

This, while the United States Government cooperates with the Allies in maintaining a merciless blockade against Soviet Russia, dooming millions of people to starvation, exposure and disease because they dare to set up the kind of government they want to live under!

"All elements of the population in Siberia look to the United States for assistance," says the President. "This assistance cannot be given to the population of Siberia, and ultimately to Russia, if the purpose entertained for two years to restore railway traffic is abandoned. . . ."

God help Russia from being assisted by President Wilson! Let him call off his private war, and call home the American boys he has sent to Siberia to shoot and be shot at upon pretexts which are obviously insincere.

Draft of the Russian Communist Party Program

1) The Russian Revolution of November 7, 1917 has introduced the proletarian dictatorship, which—with the aid of the poorest peasantry and proletariat—is laying the foundation of Communist society. The growth of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all countries, and the world phenomena and development of the Soviet form of this movement which directly aims to realize the proletarian dictatorship, and last, but not least, the beginning and course of development of the revolution in Austro-Hungary and Germany—all this indicates clearly that the era of the proletarian, Communist world-revolution has come.

2) The correct comprehension of the cause, significance and purpose of this revolution requires an interpretation of the essence of Capitalism and its development through Imperialism and the imperialistic war which accelerated the collapse of Capitalism.

3) The nature of Capitalism and bourgeois society, which still prevails in the majority of the civilized countries, and the evolution of which inevitably leads to the Communist revolution of the proletariat of the world, was correctly characterized in our old program—if we do not consider the indefinite name of the party, "Social-Democratic"—in the following thesis:

4) The main peculiarity of such a society is its commodity character of production, based on capitalistic relations of production, by virtue of which the most important part of the means of production and distribution of commodities is the property of a small class, while the great majority of the population, the proletarians and semi-proletarians, who are forced—due to their economic circumstances—to sell their labor-power continually or periodically, *i. e.* to become wage-slaves in order, by their labor, to create the income of the superior classes and of society as a whole.

5) The sphere of capitalist production is enlarged ever more and more, and, with the constant growth of technology, the economic significance of large enterprises is increased, leading to the elimination of small independent producers, minimizing the role of the rest in the social economic life, and lowering them to the position of dependence on Capitalism.

6) The growth of industrial science also gives the exploiters an opportunity to utilize to a greater extent female and child labor in the process of the production and distribution of commodities. And as, on the other hand, it leads to the relative diminution of the demand for human labor by the employers, the supply of labor power is thus greater than the demand, consequently the dependence of wage labor upon capital increases.

7) Such a condition of affairs in the bourgeois countries, and their constant reciprocal competition, becoming ever more acute, in the world market make more and more difficult the sale of commodities which are produced in constantly increasing quantities. Over production, manifesting itself in acute industrial crises and the ensuing periods of industrial stagnation, is an inevitable consequence of the development of productive forces in bourgeois society. Crises and periods of industrial stagnation, on the other hand, still more devastate the small producers, still more increase the dependence of wage-labor upon capital, still faster leads to the relative and sometimes absolute degradation of the conditions of the working class.

8) Thus the growth of technology, which

Translated from the Moscow "Pravda"
By J. Wilenkin

It is necessary to state that the intrinsic character of this program must be altered, and that it is not only a brief summary of the Marxian study of the newest, imperialistic phase of Capitalism, but also the experience of the world war and a year of practice of the proletarian dictatorship.

The committee is forced to admit that—due to the complicated task and the haste with which it was done—this draft is merely the first rough compilation of the cumulative material. The committee accordingly asks the comrades to discuss the matter thoroughly and propose corrections.

In order to facilitate discussion, the introduction of new phraseology and other corrections, the draft is divided into numbered paragraphs; this numeration will have to be omitted in the final text.

THE COMMITTEE.

means the increased productivity of labor and the growth of social wealth, enlarges the social inequality of bourgeois society, increases the chasm between the possessing and non-possessing classes, swells the ranks of the unemployed, and makes more acute the want of larger and larger masses of labor.

9) With the increase and development of all these contradictions characteristic of capitalist society, the discontent of the laboring and exploited masses with the existing order of things also grows adding to the number and the unity of the proletarians, and thus their combat against the exploiters becomes ever more acute. At the same time the concentration of the means of production and distribution and the socialization of the process of labor in capitalist enterprises, creates ever faster the material possibility of supplanting the capitalist mode of production by the Communist, *i. e.* that social revolution which impersonates the final aim of all the activity of the International Communist Party as a conscious expression of the class movement.

10) Supplanting private ownership of the means of production and distribution by co-operative ownership and introducing a systematic organization of the process of social production in order to secure the welfare and full development of every member of society, the social revolution of the proletariat will abolish the division of society into classes and will thus liberate all oppressed humanity, inasmuch as it will end every form of exploitation of one part of society by another.

11) The dictatorship of the proletariat is a *sine qua non* of this social revolution, *i. e.* the installation of the proletarian political rule, which will effectively suppress any resistance on the part of the exploiters. Taking it as our task to make the proletariat capable of fulfilling its great mission in the interest of all humanity, the International Communist Party has organized itself into an independent political party in opposition to all bourgeois parties, to direct all manifestations of the class struggle of the proletariat, which reveals the irreconcilable contrast of the interests of the exploiters and the exploited and indicates the historical significance and inevitability of the coming social revolution. At the same time

the Party reveals to the rest of the laboring and exploited masses the hopelessness of their circumstances in capitalist society and the necessity of the social revolution in the interest of their deliverance from the yoke of Capitalism. The party of the working class, the Communist Party, invites into its ranks all strata of the laboring and exploited population as far as they accept the proletarian standpoint.

12) The concentration and centralization of capital, undermining free competition, has led to the creation of mighty monopolistic corporations of capitalists—syndicates, kartells, trusts—which control the whole economic life: the amalgamation of financial interests (bank capital) with concentrated industrial capital; the invasion of foreign countries by the big interests; and the actual economic division of the whole world among the wealthiest capitalist powers, and, last but not least, it has led to the world war. This is an epoch of financial interests—the epoch of the hostility of the big interests of one country towards the big interests of another, which led to the world war.

13) This strife has led to the imperialistic war—war for markets, for spheres of investment for capital, of raw material, of cheap labor-power, *i. e.*, for world domination and for the strangling of the small and weak nations. Such is the nature of the first imperialistic war of 1914-18.

14) The high degree of development of world Capitalism in general, the supplantation of free competition by state-monopolistic Capitalism, the creation by the banks and also by industrial corporations of a capitalist machinery for public regulation of the process of production and distribution, the increase—which is intimately combined with the growth of capitalist monopoly—of the cost of living and the suppression of the working classes by the trusts, the bondage of the proletariat by the imperialistic state, the enormous hindrance of the political and economic struggle of the proletariat, the terror of poverty and the devastation produced by the imperialistic war—all this accelerates the transition from Capitalism to the new era of the proletarian-Communist revolution. This epoch has come.

15) The imperialistic war could not result in a just peace, or in a general and more or less steadfast peace under the prevalence of bourgeois governments. It inevitably developed and develops into a civil war of the exploited and laboring masses, with the proletariat as their vanguard, against the bourgeoisie. The increasing offensive of the proletariat and especially its triumphs in individual countries augments the resistance of the exploiters and forces them to create new forms of international unity of capitalists (as the League of Nations, etc.), who organizing as a world entity direct all their efforts against the proletariat in order to suppress the revolutionary movement of the working class of all countries.

All this inevitably leads to civil within individual countries and to revolutionary wars of proletarian countries defending themselves against invasion as well as small suppressed nations revolting against the yoke of the imperialistic powers. Under these conditions the slogans of pacifism, of international disarmament under Capitalism, arbitration, etc. are not only reactionary and utopian, but they are intended as a direct deception of the laboring

(Continued on page 7)

The British Workers and Soviet Russia

By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

OUR progress is very slow. When the Allied Intervention to crush the Russian Soviets began a year ago, it was impossible to arouse British workers to protest against it. In June, 1918, when the Allies were as yet only meddling tentatively in Russia, Kerensky came to this country to appeal to the Allies to make a great war upon the Soviets. His first appearance was at the Labor Party Conference at Westminster. He was introduced to the Conference by Arthur Henderson and received a great ovation from the delegates who had not thought enough about Russia to understand that he was the tool of the Czarist counter-revolution. Those of us who protested against his being allowed to address the conference as an honored guest were howled down or ejected. Our demand that Maxim Litvinoff, the duly accredited representative of Soviet Russia, who was present in the gallery, should be allowed to reply to the charges Kerensky had made against the Soviets, was ignored, at the bidding of Arthur Henderson.

At the Blackpool Trade Union Congress, the following fall no effective protest was made against the intervention: no delegate was found bold enough to express solidarity with the Soviet Government. But now all is changed: The workers are gradually coming to realize that the Russian and Hungarian Soviet Governments are governments of the working class, answering to their needs, and enabling them, at last, to realize their long cherished ideals. Though the official leaders like Arthur Henderson have deprecated, repudiated, and even helped to slander the Soviets, a deeply felt sense of solidarity with Communist Russia has been growing steadily amongst the workers. For months past "Hands Off Russia" has found its way into the resolution of every labor and Socialist propaganda meeting and literature about Russia has been the more eagerly read than any other. At the Southport Conference of the Labor Party, which opened on June 25th, the feeling which has been growing during the year was clearly manifest. To the mass of the 950 delegates Russia was the most burning of all questions, and throughout the conference, by clapping, by cheers, by interjectory remarks, they gave vocal expression to heated thought on the Russian question. The rank and file delegates were far in advance of the platform and the well-known leaders (Resolutions at the Labor Party Conference are placed on the agenda several months beforehand and emergency resolutions are only brought forward through the standing orders committee). This official element acts as a barrier to swift progress difficult to circumvent. Nevertheless it can be said that the Southport Conference of the Labor Party has succeeded in declaring itself on the following points:

(1) It has clearly recognized the International class struggle between Labor and Capital.

(2) It has declared (though as yet a little timidly, and without as yet full preparedness to meet all the obligations of this choice) its solidarity with the Workers' Socialist Republics of Russia and Hungary.

(3) It has declared itself in favor of using direct industrial action to achieve the political ends of the workers.

(4) It has decided that direct industrial action shall be used to stop capitalist attacks upon the Socialist Republics of Russia and Hungary.

(5) But it has left this action to the joint Executives, and the Executives will not act without pressure.

The Conference was not invited to discuss the fact that delegates had come from the French and Italian Comrades to appeal to the

British movement to join in a demonstration strike against the war on the Soviet Republics. Henderson, merely announced, "as a matter of information only" the Executive had agreed with the French and Italian delegates to arrange anti-intervention demonstrations for July 20 and 21 in France, Italy and Britain: the demonstrations to be "in the form best adapted to the circumstances and to the methods in operation in each country." The resolutions to be submitted to the demonstrations states:

"To this end it is the further duty of the working class movement to authorize action in the various Parliaments, and to bring to bear whatever pressure it can command, in view of their national circumstances against the governing authorities of the various countries."

Of course some delegate ought to have jumped up and moved the suspension of the Standing Orders, in order that a resolution might be moved declaring a general strike on July 20 and 21. No one was ready enough to seize the opportunity; but if any delegate had done it, old experience proves that the Chairman would probably have refused to accept the motion. The resolution actually adopted by the Conference:

"Instructs the National Executive to consult the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress with a view to effective action being taken to enforce these demands by the unreserved use of their political and industrial power."

It will be seen that this resolution leaves it to the joint Executives to put the will of the Conference into operation. The Executive of the Trade Union Congress is openly opposed to industrial action for political purposes and cares nothing for the Soviets and the majority of the Labor Party Executives is also opposed to action. McGurk, the retiring chairman of the Labor Party, at once gave an interview to the capitalist-imperialist Evening Standard, a most virulently anti-Labor paper, in which he said that nothing would come of the resolution.

But already something is coming of the resolution. The spirit that is behind it is growing in strength and decision of purpose; Ben Tillett, the Secretary of the Dockers' Union, recently announced in conjunction with Havelock Wilson, the reactionary Secretary of the Seamen's Union, that they would send a food ship to Koltchak and that the dockers would load it without pay: that food ship does not seem to have materialized and when the other day Ben Tillett spoke in Poplar (a London dock district) until lately one of his strongholds, he was howled down by the dockers.

Now the London district committee of the dockers has decided to declare a strike on July 20 and 21; but it goes further, it had decided to advise its members to abstain from working on any ships bound for Russia or assisting in any way the overthrow of the Russian proletariat. Moreover it demands that the money invested by the Dockers' Union in war loans shall be immediately withdrawn.

The Executive Committee of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen is issuing a circular to its members asking them to support the demonstrations on July 20 and 21 in every way. This is very important, as though this Union necessarily is small, it controls a powerful and absolutely essential section of men. Moreover there is great rivalry between it and the National Union of Railwaymen; and where the smaller craft union leads the big industrial union is certain to try to go one better. There is already

the possibility of an immediate railway strike on industrial grounds and the railway men are seething with discontent.

The miners supported the strike resolution at the conference and the Triple Alliance is itself calling a conference on industrial action to stop the intervention. Altogether it seems that British Labor is beginning to move. We are slow, but let us hope, we are sure.

Draft of the Russian Communist Party Program

(Continued from page 6)

masses, the aim of which is to disarm the proletariat and detract him from his task of disarming the exploiters.

16) Only a proletarian Communist revolution will work out the salvation of humanity and solve the dilemma which was created by Imperialism and imperialistic wars. Whatever hardships may occur during the revolutionary period, temporary defeats or temporary waves of counter-revolution, the final triumph of the proletariat is inevitable.

17) The victory of the world proletarian revolution requires the full confidence, the most intimate fraternal union and the utmost possible unity of the revolutionary activity of the working class of the advanced countries. These conditions are impossible of fulfillment without severance from our former co-workers in the movement and present enemies in principle, and without a relentless war against the bourgeois defacement of Socialism among the leaders of official Socialist Parties.

18) Such a defacement is the opportunism, an social chauvinism, the Socialism in words and chauvinism in action, which conceals and defends the predatory interests of its national bourgeoisie, advancing false slogans and defending in general the capitalist wars of 1914-1918. This current is created in order to give to the bourgeoisie an opportunity of buying the leaders of the proletariat by doling them out the crumbs of the large profits obtained by robbing the proletariat in the factories, and securing for them a petty bourgeois existence, and providing these leaders with office under the bourgeois regime. The opportunists and social-chauvinists as servants of the bourgeoisie are the direct class foes of the proletariat, especially now when in conjunction with the capitalists they suppress the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in their own as well as in foreign countries.

19) On the other hand, the bourgeois defacement of Socialism is indicated in the current of the "centre," vacillating between the social-chauvinists and the Communists, insisting upon unity with the former and endeavoring to resurrect the bankrupt Second International. But the new Third Communist International is, as a matter of fact, directing the combat of the proletariat for emancipation—the Communist International of the recently organized Communist parties, the recruits of which are the real proletarian elements of the former Socialist parties. In all countries, especially in Germany, the Communists gain ever more and more the sympathy of the proletarian masses. This International resurrects, not only the name of Marxism but also its political ideas and principles. All its activities are directed for only one purpose—the realization of the revolutionary tenets of Marx and Engels, cleansed of opportunism and social-chauvinism.

The Versailles Peace

By F. Loriot

Of the Left (Communist) Wing of the French Socialist Party.

IT was to be expected that those who have signed "their" peace should rejoice—and congratulate themselves; that they should try to give to the occasion a solemnity which the situation renders false; that, in order to again fool the masses—and perhaps to convince themselves—they should loudly affirm that June 28, 1919 is a date forever memorable.

It was also to be expected that bourgeois democrats and social reformers, who, during the war, believed that the leaders of the Entente would end it by an honest and durable peace—the Peace of Justice, crowning the Last War—should now burst out in useless lamentations and superfluous reproaches.

For us, who have always declared that the war, imperialistic in its origin would be also imperialistic in its results; for us, who have ceaselessly warned the labor organizations against the dangers of Wilsonian politics—the so-called "peace" treaty is just what it ought to be, the logical and foreseen conclusion of a butchery undertaken by two rival capitalist coalitions for a new partition of the world.

By a clever exploitation of secular hatreds—the result of an entire history of violence and plunder—by a shrewd stimulation of nationalist passions, by concealing their real aims, the governments of all the belligerent countries made the war acceptable to the masses of the people.

By the suppression of civil liberties, by dictatorship, by the formidable oppressive organization of the capitalist state, they have held these masses in the flaming inferno; blinding and bewildering the majority of them by means of the ferocious propaganda of a servile press, and breaking the resistance of the rest by a pitiless repression—always ready to pay their own price to those who will remain silent at the right time, who will talk when it is profitable, and who will resign when it is demoralizing.

Thanks to this eclipse of the human conscience, to these obscurities carefully maintained, they have conducted their war to its logical end—world wide economic autocracy. On one side Anglo-American Capitalist—Imperialism, on the other side German Cap-

italist-Imperialism, both equally greedy, both equally contemptuous of humanitarian phraseology and accepting no other limit to their appetites except the fortune of arms. Versailles is no more a surprise than Brest-Litovsk was. The world market, which would have belonged to the financial oligarchy of Berlin if official Germany had conquered, now belongs to the financial oligarchy of London and Washington. If the proletarian revolution does not put things in order, these financiers will direct, for their own profit, all the productive forces of the universe.

Such is, in spite of all the superficial demonstrations, all the gilt and bunting, all the triumphant brass band music, the true and only significance of the treaty.

It is sometimes compared to the treaty of Vienna. The League of Nations, in fact, is nothing but a Holy Alliance infinitely more hypocritical and oppressive, which puts at the service of Capitalism all modern technique. But at Vienna Talleyrand was not received with a shower of stones (like the German delegates at Versailles) and what is more the Congress of Vienna really settled the peace of the world for the first half of the nineteenth century.

But the Treaty of Versailles does not finish the war, even with Germany. The signatures of the figureheads Muller and Bell, representatives of the most tottering government of the world, give only illusory guarantees of peace. In reality hostilities will continue between France in arms—acting as sentinel while America and England go peaceably about their profitable business—and Germany for the moment disarmed, but trembling and impatient to free herself from insupportable slavery.

No working class could accept the conditions imposed by the treaty upon the German proletariat, crushed under an eternity of obligations and servitude and at the same time forbidden the means to fulfill these terrible demands. After having fought for its masters

the German proletariat must now organize to struggle for its own existence. This situation will bear heavily upon the shoulders of the international proletariat and more particularly upon the French proletariat, ruined and bled white by the war, driven by its government against the Russian and Hungarian revolutions and forced to face the terrible economic and military burdens piled up to annihilate the German proletariat's struggle for liberty.

No, it is not peace; for the merciless war between the old world crashing down and the new world arising continues everywhere. It is not only, as in 1815, the liberal protests which arise, or the protests of nations in slavery against their foreign oppressors. The war has cost too much, and victorious Capitalism has paid for its victory too colossal a price, in treasure, in tears, in blood. On the shattered ruins of what was once their bastille, the exploited workers of all countries are expressing more and more loudly, more and more imperiously their will to destroy Capitalism—the exploiter.

In spite of the powers of which it disposes, in spite of censorship and repression, in spite of a press filled with calumny, hatred, and lies the bourgeois autocracy cannot prevent the truth from spreading and penetrating the most profound strata of the people. Some politicians may be able to set up a new equilibrium founded on a coalition of anti-German appetites; but they cannot much longer avoid facing the facts that the war has consecrated the downfall of the capitalist, nationalist state—which has become in the strong words of Trotsky, "an intolerable obstacle to economic development."

Whatever they do, the hour is approaching, when, realizing the powerlessness of the bourgeoisie to escape from the chaos it has created and from the abyss of misery which the prolongation of bourgeois domination means, the proletarians of Europe will finally shake off the yoke; and, sole masters of the state power and of their own destinies, they will establish, by the union of all the proletariats in the only League of Nations possible—the *Communist International*—peace, real peace, happy and enduring.

Class War Prisoners Greet the Left Wing

The National Left Wing Conference received the following letter at its first session, June 21, 1919:

We, members of the Socialist Party now confined as political prisoners in the U. S. Disciplinary Barracks, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, send our cordial greetings and heartiest encouragement to the Left Wing of the American Socialist Party.

We place our hope for the future of American Socialism in Left Wing control of the Party.

Carl Haessler, Milwaukee; A. V. Alexander, Passaic, N. J.; O. H. Wangerin, St. Paul; Jacob Schneider, Boston; Leopold Weinstein, Newark, N. J.; Richard Carlson, St. Paul; Leopold B. Balner, Philadelphia; Carl Johnson, St. Paul; Lazarus B. Marcowitz, Kings County, N. Y.; Gunnard Johnson, St. Paul; John Flage, Virginia, Minn.; Jacob Miller, New York City; Emil Nygard, Duluth, Minn.; Frank E. Rayer, Cleveland; Stanley A. Marshall, Cincinnati; John Grass, Hudson County, N. J.; Axel W. Carlson, St. Paul.

We, political prisoners here but not party members, endorse the above.

Clark H. Getts, H. Austin Simons, M. J. Plonsker, H. D. Cohen, Herman A. Blass, Ross Michael Holwach, Jacob Lalek, Stephen Reckhoff, Chas. P. Larsen, Alex Norbe, W. B. Hollingsloods, H. Stanley Megender, Leroy Hoelcher, A. H. Smith, Tony Pruschuk, John Schmidt, John Kos, Alexy Kiriluk, Egnatz Kruvonsko, Xeny Pollack, Morris Falk, Gabriel Petnonar, David Joff, Dan Voloshin, Nick Prokopenko, Michael Prush, Sedor Okilko, Kusma Tkachuk, Sam Mazur, Alex Cherly, Jacob Vogel, Theodore Falatovich, Alex Sologub, Joseph Volsky, Alex Urosky, Avkrenty Solkovitz, Frank Zamatowits, Xaveluk Ludwig

In addition there are many, both party members and sympathizers, who would sign this statement but who cannot be reached because they are in isolation from the other prisoners.

C. H.

The Hara Ministry and the Bolsheviki

By Sen Katayama

RECENT reports on the social conditions in Japan are misleading. The real facts are either concealed or misrepresented, especially regarding the Socialist movement. A report printed recently in *The New York Call* to the effect that a Socialist Party has been formed and that Socialists have discontinued their underground work and are now functioning in the open is entirely misleading. The talk about the formation of a Socialist Party is of the same nature as the report printed in *The Heimin*, published in New York, that a Royal Socialist Party was to be formed by the tacit understanding of the present Hara ministry.

It is true that many attempts have been made since the great rice riots in August, 1918, by the government and the ruling classes to institute schemes for "social betterment." But they have proved to be simply camouflage while in reality the government has been tightening its brutal grip on the Marxian Socialists. On this point a good comrade wrote me recently that Socialists who have not come to terms with the government, as national or patriotic Socialists, are hounded down and oppressed. All their acts are closely followed, their telephone calls are watched and their mail is opened, all of which is contrary to the constitutional guarantees. Public meetings are forbidden, in fact, they are not allowed to carry on any form of propaganda whatever.

From the reports in the bourgeois press it would seem that the government has changed from an autocratic bureaucracy to liberal. In reality it is becoming more and more autocratic though perhaps in a little more civilized or camouflaged manner than formerly. To the Marxian Socialists there is no liberty. There is of course a certain bourgeois freedom, like the democratic freedom of the United States; those who are in favor of the government and the ruling classes have to a certain extent freedom of press and assembly, but even they have no real liberty. For instance no reports of the uprisings in Korea were printed in the press, except the official dispatches given out by the government. The liberal papers and magazines are bound and gagged, not by any law but by the arbitrary acts of the government.

At the beginning of the present year a movement for the extension of the franchise became very strong. It grew, at one time into a big national movement. By force of circumstances the government was unable to suppress it and Socialists seized the opportunity presented at some of the meetings to make speeches. To check this movement the government introduced a bill to reduce the tax qualification from 10 yen to 3 yen. This means that the million and a half voters will be increased to somewhere between two and two and a half million out of a population of over sixty-five millions, so even under the new electoral law the vast majority of the people, the workers, are entirely excluded from participation in the elections. This bill was hastily prepared and still more hastily passed by both houses of the Imperial Diet. It should be explained here that the franchise qualification tax is a national tax and does not include local taxation. Japan is a country of indirect taxation, more than 70 per cent of the budget being raised by indirect taxation.

There is a great unrest among the Japanese people at present. The many attempts by the ruling classes to pacify the workers are proving to be added fuel to the fire of discontent that

will some day destroy the present bureaucratic government. The government feels this, the ruling classes feel it and the working masses are becoming daily more conscious of the pressure of their burdens and are looking for a chance to get rid of them.

It is true that the study of Marxian Socialism recently became very popular. The study of *Das Kapital* has been taken up by the press of the country. Several persons and groups have announced their intention of translating *Kapital*, and several monthlies have appeared which are devoted to the study of Socialism, though mostly confining themselves to the academic and theoretical side of the subject and not venturing into the field of its application to present day conditions. The government's fear of the spread of Socialism and of the Socialists has changed recently to fear of Bolshevism and the Bolsheviki. Theoretical Socialism is freely discussed in the press, translations from books and foreign magazine articles are plentiful, but any discussion of Japanese social conditions is sternly prohibited. The government and the ruling classes fear that the people may awaken and begin to act from a Socialist standpoint.

Present day conditions cause many dangers to the bourgeoisie. The prices of food are ever on the increase; far higher than those of last August, when the rice riots occurred. The armistice and the coming of peace brought much unemployment while rent and other expenses are increasing enormously. The wages of those who are employed are being cut down on account of the prevalence of unemployment.

Among the middle classes also there is much unrest. In Japan the middle classes are numerically dominant. They comprise petty army and naval officers, petty bureaucrats, and countless small merchants and farmers. These middle classes are suffering more and more on account of the high cost of living and the pressure from the big capitalists. Policemen and grammar school teachers are among the poorest paid workers, while the lower ranks of military and naval officers, whose incomes have not risen in proportion to the cost of the necessities of living, are badly hit by the rise in prices.

The lowest strata of society shows many signs of awakening. The industrial proletariat is fast absorbing the ideas of Bolshevism and social revolution. The workers are learning from the soldiers who have been in Siberia and from the news in the daily press. Between thirty and forty thousand soldiers who have returned from Siberia have become Bolshevik propagandists. They are all reservists and, from all parts of the country, on their return to civilian life they mingle with the workers. It is often reported with terror that Bolshevism is spreading in the Japanese army.

Such are the conditions in Japan just now, and the Hara ministry is attempting in a thousand ways to stop the spread of Bolshevism throughout the country. The government and the ruling classes are terror-stricken at the spread of Bolshevism; they think that compared with Bolshevism, Socialism is tame and that its study can be allowed without danger. But real Marxian Socialists like Comrades Sakai and Yamakawa are closely watched, they are practically prisoners at their own ex-

pense, and have to get their living under very difficult conditions.

Everything favors the coming of social revolution, and all the camouflaged works of the rulers only accelerate the event. The Hara ministry wants Socialism tamed in Japan by discriminating between revolutionary Socialists and moderates. But things will result contrary to their wishes.

Now-a-days the Japs are most unpopular people in the eyes of the world, on account of the Japanese government's brutal policy in Korea, its militaristic avariciousness in the matter of Shantung and the Siberian invasion. In the latter adventure Japan is foolishly acting as the hangman for Allied capitalists. In order to conceal the worst phases of the Paris treaty the capitalist press of the entire world is endeavoring to paint the Shantung crime of Japan as blacker and worse than any other. Japan is now painted as the worst enemy of humanity; brutal, aggressive and imperialistic in its foreign policy in the Far East, the Prussia of Asia, by intelligent Chinese gentlemen and their friends in America. The writer is not in the least concerned with whether or not these attacks are deserved. But I am firmly convinced that the Japanese workers will soon realize the true situation they are placed in, especially bearing in mind the example of the German workers who are now saddled with the responsibility for Prussian militarism, the Kaiser and the war of 1914!

They will see that the best way to save Japan and themselves is to adopt the method of the Russian workers: Bolshevism and the Soviet form of government. No wonder that the Japanese government is greatly exercised over the rapid spread of Bolshevik ideas among the people. It is not so difficult for the Japanese workers to learn from Russia and particularly from Siberia. It is no theory placed before them, but the facts of Russian life; enjoyed by the workers and peasants during the past twenty months. The Japanese workers and peasants will soon learn to put the same ideas into practice. Bolshevism translated into the everyday life of the workers can be understood by the people much more easily than the theory of Bolshevism.

It is reported that Hungarian war prisoners who studied for four months in Petrograd night schools are better scholars than children who studied for ten years in Hungarian schools. Of the common soldier prisoners in Russia, who studied only a few months in Petrograd, sixteen are now professors in Hungarian universities, while two hundred are grammar school teachers. Education under Bolshevik rule must have been very much simplified in its methods. And not only education, but all other things have been greatly simplified, for the artificial and wasteful in life has been done away with in Russia: Capitalism and its exploitation of labor is no more. The elaborate system of national economy and industry may be very complicated to outsiders but the Russian workers and peasants are part of the system, not like the workers in the capitalistic national and industrial system of production and distribution.

There are very good prospects for the early acceptance and practice of Bolshevism by the Japanese workers and peasants. Governmental fear and the consequent suppression and oppression will not stop the spread of Bolshevism in Japan; it is coming there as a concrete fact, out of the living history of Russia.

Petrograd During the Early Part of 1919

By Arthur Ransome

ON January 30, a party of newspaper correspondents, 2 Norwegians, a Swede and myself, left Stockholm to go into Russia. We travelled with the members of the Soviet Government's Legation, headed by Vorovsky and Litvinov, who were going home after the breaking off of official relations by Sweden. Some months earlier I had got leave from the Bolsheviks to go into Russia to get further material for my history of the revolution, but at the last moment there was opposition and it seemed likely that I should be refused permission. Fortunately, however, a copy of the *Morning Post* reached Stockholm, containing a report of a lecture by Mr. Lockhart in which he had said that as I had been out of Russia for six months I had no right to speak of conditions there. Armed with this I argued that it would be very unfair if I were not allowed to come and see things for myself. I had no further difficulties.

We crossed by boat to Abo, grinding our way through the ice, and, then travelled by rail to the Russian frontier, taking several days over the journey owing to delays variously explained by the Finnish authorities. We were told that the Russian White Guards had planned an attack on the train. Litvinov, half-smiling, wondered if they were purposely giving time to the White Guards to organize such an attack. Several nervous folk inclined to that opinion. But at Viborg we were told that there were grave disorders in Petrograd and that the Finns did not wish to fling us into the middle of a scrimmage. Then some one obtained a newspaper and we read a detailed account of what was happening. This account was, as I learnt on my return, duly telegraphed to England like much other news of a similar character. There had been a serious revolt in Petrograd. The Semenovskiy regiment had gone over to the mutineers, who had seized the town. The Government, however, had escaped to Kronstadt, whence they were bombarding Petrograd with naval guns.

This sounded fairly lively, but there was nothing to be done, so we finished up the chess tournament we had begun on the boat. An Estonian won it, and I was second, by reason of a lucky win over Litvinov, who is really a better player. By Sunday night we reached Terijoki and on Monday moved slowly to the frontier of Finland close to Bieloostrov. A squad of Finnish soldiers was waiting, excluding everybody from the station and seeing that no dangerous revolutionary should break away on Finnish territory. There were no horses, but three hand sledges were brought, and we piled the luggage on them, and then set off to walk to the frontier duly convoyed by the Finns. A Finnish lieutenant walked at the head of the procession, chatting good-humouredly in Swedish and German, much as a man might think it worth while to be kind to a crowd of unfortunates just about to be flung into a boiling cauldron. We walked a few hundred yards along the line and then turned into a road deep in snow through a little bare wood, and so down to the little wooden bridge over the narrow frozen stream that separates Finland from Russia. The bridge, not twenty yards across, has a toll bar at each end, two sentry boxes and two sentries. On the Russian side the bar was the familiar black and white of the old Russian Empire, with a sentry box to match. The Finns seemingly had not yet had time to paint their bar and box.

The Finns lifted their toll bar, and the Fin-

nish officer leading our escort walked solemnly to the middle of the bridge. Then the luggage was dumped there, while we stood watching the trembling of the rickety little bridge under the weight of our belongings, for we were all taking in with us as much food as we decently could. We were none of us allowed on the bridge until an officer and a few men had come down to meet us on the Russian side. Only little Nina, Vorovsky's daughter, about ten years old, chattering Swedish with the Finns, got leave from them, and shyly, step by step, went down the other side of the bridge and struck up acquaintance with the soldier of the Red Army who stood there, gun in hand, and obligingly bent to show her the sign, set in his hat, of the crossed sickle and banner of the Peasants' and Workmen's Republic. At last the Finnish lieutenant took the list of his prisoners and called out the names "Vorovsky, wife and one bairn," looking laughingly over his shoulder at Nina flirting with the sentry. Then "Litvinov," and so on through all the Russians, about thirty of them. We four visitors, Grimlund the Swede, Puntervald and Stang, the Norwegians, and I, came last. At last, after a general shout of farewell, and "Helse Finland" from Nina, the Finns turned and went back into their civilization and we went forward into the new struggling civilization of Russia. Crossing that bridge we passed from one philosophy to another, from one extreme of the class struggle to the other, from a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie to a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The contrast was noticeable at once. On the Finnish side of the frontier we had seen the grandiose new frontier station, much larger than could possibly be needed, but quite a good expression of the spirit of the new Finland. On the Russian side we came to the same grey old wooden station known to all passengers to and from Russia for polyglot profanity and passport difficulties. There were no porters, which was not surprising because there is barbed wire and an extremely hostile sort of neutrality along the frontier and traffic across has practically ceased. In the buffet, which was very cold, no food could be bought. The long tables once laden with caviare and other *zakuski* were bare. There was, however, a samovar, and we bought tea at sixty kopeks a glass and lumps of sugar at two roubles fifty each. We took our tea into the inner passport room, where I think a stove must have been burning the day before, and there made some sort of a meal off some of Puntervald's Swedish hard-bread. It is difficult to me to express the curious mixture of depression and exhilaration that was given to the party by this derelict starving station combined with the feeling that we were no longer under guard but could do more or less as we liked. I split the party into two factions, of which one wept while the other sang. Madame Vorovsky, who had not been in Russia since the first revolution, frankly wept, but she wept still more in Moscow where she found that even as the wife of a high official of the Government she enjoyed no privileges which would save her from the hardships of the population. But the younger members of the party, together with Litvinov, found their spirits irrepressibly rising in spite of having no dinner. They walked about the village, played with the children, and sang, not revolutionary songs, but just jolly songs, any songs that came into their heads. When at last the train came to take us into

Petrograd, and we found that the carriages were unheated, somebody got out a mandoline and we kept ourselves warm by dancing. At the same time I was sorry for the five children who were with us, knowing that a country simultaneously suffering war, blockade and revolution is not a good place for childhood. But they had caught the mood of their parents, revolutionaries going home to their revolution, and trotted excitedly up and down the carriage or anchored themselves momentarily, first on one person's knee and then on another's.

It was dusk when we reached Petrograd. The Finland Station, of course, was nearly deserted, but here there were four porters, who charged two hundred and fifty roubles for shifting the luggage of the party from one end of the platform to the other. We ourselves loaded it into the motor lorry sent to meet us, as at Bieloostrov we had loaded it into the van. There was a long time to wait while rooms were being allotted to us in various hotels, and with several others I walked outside the station to question people about the mutiny and the bombardment of which we have heard in Finland. Nobody knew anything about it. As soon as the rooms were allotted and I knew that I had been lucky enough to get one in Astoria, I drove off across the frozen river by the Liteini Bridge. The trams were running. The town seemed absolutely quiet, and away down the river I saw once again in the dark, which is never quite dark because of the snow, the dim shape of the fortress, and passed one by one the landmarks I had come to know so well during the last six years—the Summer Garden, the British Embassy, and the great Palace Square where I had seen armoured cars flaunting about during the July rising, soldiers camping during the hysterical days of the Kornilov affair and, earlier, Kornilov himself reviewing the Junkers. My mind went further back to the March revolution, and I saw once more the picket fire of the revolutionaries at the corner that night when the remains of the Czar's Government were still frantically printing proclamations ordering the people to go home, at the very moment while they themselves were being besieged in the Admiralty. Then it flung itself further back still, to the day of the declaration of war, when I saw this same square filled with people, while the Czar came out for a moment on the Palace balcony. By that time we were pulling up at the Astoria and I had to turn my mind to something else.

I inquired for a meal, and found that no food was to be had in the hotel, but they could supply hot water. Then, to get an appetite for sleep, I went out for a short walk, though I did not much like doing so with nothing but an English passport, and with no papers to show that I had any right to be there. I had like the other foreigners, been promised such papers but had not yet received them. I went round to the Regina, which used to be one of the best hotels in the town, but those of us who had rooms there were complaining so bitterly that I did not stay with them, but went off along the Moika to the Nevsky and so back to my own hotel. The streets, like the hotel, were only half lit, and hardly any of the houses had a lighted window. In the old sheepskin coat I had worn on the front and in my high fur hat, I felt like some ghost of the old regime visiting a town long dead. The silence and emptiness of the streets contributed to this effect. Still, the few people I met or passed were talking cheerfully together and the rare

sledges and motors had comparatively good roads, the streets being certainly better swept and cleaned than they have been since the last winter of the Russian Empire.

Smolni

EARLY in the morning I got tea and a bread card on which I was given a very small allowance of brown bread, noticeably better in quality than the compound of clay and straw which made me ill in Moscow last summer. Then I went to find Litvinov, and set out with him to walk to the Smolni institute, once a school for the daughters of the aristocracy, then the headquarters of the Soviet Government, and finally, after the Government's evacuation to Moscow, bequeathed to the Northern Commune and the Petrograd Soviet. The town, in daylight, seemed less deserted, though it was obvious that the "unloading" of the Petrograd population, which was unsuccessfully attempted during the Kerensky regime, had been accomplished to a large extent. This has been partly the result of famine and of the stoppage of factories, which in its turn is due to the impossibility of bringing fuel and raw material to Petrograd. A very large proportion of Russian factory hands have not, as in other countries, lost their connection with their native villages. There was always a considerable annual migration backwards and forwards between the villages and the town, and great numbers of workmen have gone home, carrying with them the ideas of the revolution. It should also be remembered that the bulk of the earlier formed units of the Red Army is composed of workmen from the towns who, except in the case of peasants mobilized in districts which have experienced an occupation by the counter-revolutionaries, are more determined and better understand the need for discipline than the men from the country.

The most noticeable thing in Petrograd to anyone returning after six months' absence is the complete disappearance of armed men. The town seems to have returned to a perfectly peaceable condition in the sense that the need for revolutionary patrols has gone. Soldiers walking about no longer carry their rifles, and the picturesque figures of the revolution who wore belts of machine-gun cartridges slung about their persons have gone.

The second noticeable thing, especially in the Nevsky, which was once crowded with people too fashionably dressed, is the general lack of new clothes. I did not see anybody wearing clothes that looked less than two years old, with the exception of some officers and soldiers who are as well equipped nowadays as at the beginning of the war. Petrograd ladies were particularly fond of boots, and of boots there is an extreme shortage. I saw one young woman in a well-preserved, obviously costly fur coat, and beneath it straw shoes with linen wrappings.

We had started rather late, so we took a tram half-way up the Nevsky. The tram conductors are still women. The price of tickets has risen to a rouble, usually, I noticed, paid in stamps. It used to be ten kopecks.

The armored car which used to stand at the entrance of Smolni has disappeared and been replaced by a horrible statue of Karl Marx, who stands, thick and heavy, on a stout pedestal, holding behind him an enormous top-hat like the muzzle of an eighteen-inch gun. The only signs of preparations for defense that remain are the pair of light field guns which, rather the worse for weather, still stand under the pillars of the portico which they would probably shake to pieces if ever they should be fired. Inside the routine was as it used

to be, and when I turned down the passage to get my permit to go upstairs, I could hardly believe that I had been away for so long. The place is emptier than it was. There is not the same eager crowd of country delegates pressing up and down the corridors and collecting literature from the stalls that I used to see in the old days when the serious little workman from the Viborg side stood guard over Trotsky's door, and from the alcove with its window looking down into the great hall, the endless noise of debate rose from the Petrograd Soviet that met below.

Litvinov invited me to have dinner with the Petrograd Commissars, which I was very glad to do, partly because I was hungry and partly because I thought it would be better to meet Zinoviev thus than in any other manner, remembering how sourly he had looked upon me earlier in the revolution. Zinoviev is a Jew, with a lot of hair, a round smooth face, and a very abrupt manner. He was against the November Revolution, but when it had been accomplished returned to his old allegiance to Lenin and, becoming President of the Northern Commune, remained in Petrograd when the Government moved to Moscow. He is neither an original thinker nor a good orator except in debate, in answering opposition, which he does with extreme skill. His nerve was badly shaken by the murders of his friends Volodarsky and Uritsky last year, and he is said to have lost his head after the attack on Lenin, to whom he is extremely devoted. I have heard many Communists attribute to this fact the excesses which followed that event in Petrograd. I have never noticed anything that would make me consider him pro-German, though of course he is pro-Marx. He has, however, a decided prejudice against the English. He was among the Communists who put difficulties in my way as a "bourgeois journalist" in the earlier days of the revolution, and I had heard that he had expressed suspicion and disapproval of Radek's intimacy with me.

I was amused to see his face when he came in and saw me sitting at the table. Litvinov introduced me to him, very tactfully telling him of Lockhart's attack upon me, whereupon he became quite decently friendly, and said that if I could stay a few days in Petrograd on my way back from Moscow he would see that I had access to the historical material I wanted about the doings of the Petrograd Soviet during the time I had been away. I told him I was surprised to find him here and not at Kronstadt, and asked about the mutiny and the treachery of the Semenovskiy regiment. There was a shout of laughter, and Pozern explained that there was no Semenovskiy regiment in existence, and that the manufacturers of the story, every word of which was a lie, had no doubt tried to give realism to it by putting in the name of the regiment which had taken a chief part in putting down the Moscow insurrection of fourteen years ago. Pozern, a thin bearded man, with glasses, was sitting at the other end of the table, as Military Commissar of the Northern Commune.

Dinner in Smolni was the same informal affair that it was in the old days, only with much less to eat. The Commissars, men and women, came in from their work, took their places, fed and went back to work again, Zinoviev in particular staying only a few minutes. The meal was extremely simple, soup with shreds of horse-flesh in it, very good indeed, followed by a little kasha together with small slabs of some sort of white stuff of no particular consistency or taste. Then tea and a lump of sugar. The conversation was mostly about the chances of peace, and

Litvinov's rather pessimistic reports were heard with disappointment. Just as I had finished, Vorovsky, Madame Vorovsky and little Nina, together with the two Norwegians and the Swede, came in. I learnt that about half the party were going on to Moscow that night and, deciding to go with them, hurried off to the hotel.

Petrograd to Moscow

THERE was, of course, a dreadful scrimmage about getting away. Several people were not ready at the last minute. Only one motor was obtainable for nine persons with their light luggage, and a motor lorry for the heavy things. I chose to travel on the lorry with the luggage and had a fine bumpy drive to the station, reminding me of similar though livelier experiences in the earlier days of the revolution when lorries were used for the transport of machine guns, red guards, orators, enthusiasts of all kinds, and any stray persons who happened to clamber on.

At the Nikolai Station we found perfect order until we got into our wagon, an old third-class wagon, in which a certain number of places which one of the party had reserved had been occupied by people who had no right to be there. Even this difficulty was smoothed out in a manner that would have been impossible a year or even six months ago.

The wagon was divided by a door in the middle. There were open coupes and side seats which became plank beds when necessary. We slept in three tiers on the bare boards. I had a very decent place on the second tier, and, by a bit of good luck, the topmost bench over my head was occupied only by luggage, which gave me room to climb up there and sit more or less upright under the roof with my legs dangling above the general tumult of mothers, babies, and Bolsheviks below. At each station at which the train stopped there was a general procession backwards and forwards through the wagon. Everybody who had a kettle or a coffee-pot or a tin can, or even an empty meat tin, crowded through the carriage and out to get boiling water. I had nothing but a couple of thermos flasks, but with these I joined the others. From every carriage on the train people poured out and hurried to the taps. No one controlled the taps but, with the instinct for co-operation for which Russians are remarkable, people formed themselves automatically into queues, and by the time the train started again everybody was back in his place and ready for a general tea-drinking. This performance was repeated again and again throughout the night. People dozed off to sleep, woke up, drank more tea, and joined in the various conversations that went on in different parts of the carriage. Up aloft, I listened first to one then to another. Some were grumbling at the price of food. Others were puzzling why other nations insisted on being at war with them. One man said he was a co-operator who had come by roundabout ways from Archangel, and describing the discontent there, told a story which I give as an illustration of the sort of thing that is being said in Russia by non-Bolsheviks. This man, in spite of the presence of many Communists in the carriage, did not disguise his hostility to their theories and practice, and none the less told this story. He said that some of the Russian troops in the Archangel district refused to go to the front. Their commanders, unable to compel them, resigned and were replaced by others who, since the men persisted in refusal, appealed for help. The barracks, so he said, were then surrounded by American troops, and the Russians who had refused to go the front

(Continued on page 14)

Report of the National Left Wing Conference

Immediate Organization of Communist Party

MacALPINE: I move to suspend the regular order of business and go to the discussion of the advisability of forming a Communist Party.

Larkin: In putting the motion, I suggest that you have Comrade Ruthenberg and Comrade Hourwich draft a brief resolution. We want the advisability of starting a Communist Party here and now, or waiting until the 30th August, settled.

Hourwich and Ruthenberg, thereupon drew up the following resolution.

"Be it resolved that this National Conference representing the Left Wing within the Socialist Party hereby sever all relations with the Socialist Party, and that we begin immediately the organization of the Communist Party."

The Chairman: We will vote on Comrade MacAlpine's motion to suspend the rules.

(The motion was made to suspend the rules and this was unanimously carried.)

Ruthenberg: Comrades, you understand of course, that in moving this resolution, I did so by instruction of the body, and not because of any sympathy with what the resolution proposes. I believe personally that the proposition contained in that resolution would be the best way in the world to hamper the Left Wing movement in the organization of a virile Communist Party in the future. We have thus far endeavored to carry on our fight within the Socialist Party. We have won the fight within the Socialist Party, and now some comrades come here and ask us to scuttle the ship and run away when we have won a victory. We only need to press that victory in order to take hold of the existing order. (Applause.) By this conference going on record to organize a Communist Party, we are taken away from the position which we now hold before the membership of the Socialist Party. We carried on a fight through the machinery of the party organization. We have won in a referendum. And now the other side adopts extra constitutional means to rob us of our victory, and we are in a position before the membership as the injured party in the struggle. If we now step out of the organization—and remember there is in the heart of most members of the organization some feeling of loyalty to the organization, some feeling that this party under the name of the Socialist Party which they have sacrificed for, for so many years, is something they don't want to easily let go of, and if we take this step and ask them to go outside the organization, we are not going to carry with us as many members of that party—those who even are in sympathy with our purpose and our manifesto and program—than if we continue to fight through the two short months that still lie before the National Convention. And I submit to you that at that National Convention will be the appropriate time for us to proceed—not at the end, but at the very beginning of that convention.

What situation will we find? Some of us here say that the reactionaries will control that convention. How? They will control, then step out and organize your Communist Party. But if we go there with delegates from the several expelled organizations, if we go there with the delegates of all the organizations inside of the party, and the secretary calls that

Owing to the fact that it is impossible to get out the complete stenographic report of the proceedings of the National Left Wing Conference, June 21-25, in booklet form in the short time at our disposal, it has been decided to run extracts from the report dealing with the matters now under dispute. It is proposed to give such extracts as will state the position of both sides and will throw all possible clarity on the issues involved.

convention to order, who is going to be in control on the floor of that convention? Who is going to elect the chairman? Who is going to be in the majority? Why, the members of the Left Wing. And if they adopt some scheme, some parliamentary action to eliminate these outcast delegations, then we, the majority will simply start right there on the floor of that convention and proceed to organize the Communist Party. (Great applause.)

Zucker: Comrade Ruthenberg states that we have carried the fight within the Socialist Party until now, and that we shall proceed to carry on the fight in the same manner as in the past, until August 30th, in spite of the fact that the majority of the organization committee has reported that in their opinion the N. E. C. is going to expel nearly seventy-five per cent of the membership of the Socialist Party, in order to continue their control of the organization. Comrade Ruthenberg still labors under the delusion that because we have the majority of the votes, therefore the control of the machinery of the Socialist Party follows inevitably. Comrades, let us not make the great mistake of imagining that because we have the votes, therefore the machinery comes our way. We have been shown the fallacy of the Right Wingers who claim that when we shall have captured fifty-one per cent of the votes on election day, we will then get control of the State. We tell them that is an absurdity. In order to control the State, you must destroy the capitalist state. And so it is here. In the referendum of the membership we had at least 75 per cent of the membership voting our way. But a group of seven individuals have defeated the will of more than half the membership of the Socialist Party—have expelled them from the Socialist Party—and what is more, they are determined to expel the other half. At a meeting of the N. E. C., they elected a Board of Trustees that took over the control of the property of the Socialist Party, which means that they—the Left Wing, if it shall by some miracle, capture the Socialist Party, there will no doubt be a legal fight as to whether the present N. E. C. is the legal Socialist Party. Comrades, I say it is absurd. It is criminal for the Left Wing to bring its case before the tribunals to decide the justice and legality of our act. Comrades, the Left Wing has not only been spat in the face in Chicago—they have been kicked down stairs, and now it is proposed that the Left Wing shall come crawling back to plead for justice and for mercy and for constitutionality. Comrades, more than half of the delegates present are now out of the Socialist Party. We have been expelled from the Socialist Party, and it is impossible for me as an individual as well as for other comrades to have their opinions voiced at the meeting of the National Convention. Another thing, let us not commit the

fatal error of waiting until August 30th before we shall organize our party. The machine in the Socialist Party is wise. They have always adopted the policy, whenever the revolutionary movement of the Socialist Party becomes powerful, of seeming to adopt the program of the revolutionists, and once this is adopted the machine will remain in control. Comrades, I want you to think back to the historic fight of 1912 between Hillquit and Hayward, when six months later Hayward was kicked out of the Socialist Party. I want you to remember how in 1917 in St. Louis, when the rank and file of the party demanded a revolutionary program, the reactionaries in the Socialist Party adopted a revolutionary program—the **St. Louis Program**. . . . No sooner was it adopted, than it became a mere scrap of paper, and the machine supported the war. They voted for liberty bonds. Their congressmen voted for appropriations, and the rank and file were ignored. Comrades, they are going to adopt a similar St. Louis program on August 30th. They are going to adopt the principles of the Left Wing, and then come before the members of the Socialist Party and say, "Comrades, why split? We have always been with the Left Wingers in principle." I will read from an official organ of the Socialist Party. It says, "It is true, comrades, that the new conditions require a change in policies. I am sure that I am speaking for the majority of the committee in stating that we intend to make such changes. But you of the Left Wing cannot wait. You adopt your manifesto and tell us to swallow it or smash the party." And that is what they will do on August 30th. They will seemingly adopt our program and principles, and they will say, "we expelled the Left Wing not because we are against the principles, but because they wanted to shove it down our throats," and then, comrades, they will play the same trick that they did in 1910 and 1912 and every other fight, where the revolutionary rank and file tried to assert its power and gain control of the party machinery. Comrades, now it the time for action. If we wait for August 30th—the historic moment to organize the party is lost. Now, the rank and file in the Socialist Party is with us. They feel that we have been unfairly dealt with by the machine, and, comrades, we know that a great many of those within the Left Wing are not Left Wingers because of conviction. The great mass within the Left Wing are there because of sentiment, because we have been wrongly dealt with. Comrades, let us have the courage to start not with the great mass, although I say without the masses no revolution can succeed. We want the masses, but we want them on our program, and on our principles. Let us have the courage to start with a small number, if possible, but let us start as real revolutionists, and ask the rank and file to join with us on all principles to organize the Communist Party. (Great applause.)

MacAlpine: Comrade Chairman and Comrades: It is all very well to talk about the name "Communist." Any person who is a delegate to this convention can get on this floor and make an emotional appeal on the name "Communist." We all know that the name "Communist" is covered with the blood of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. We all know that this name has been adopted in

Russia by the workers and peasants who are facing the bayonets of the entire capitalist world. We know that it has been adopted in Hungary. But this is not the time for us to act on emotions. This is the time for us to act with regard to the future of the American movement. If our movement is worth anything, we can march forward to its success—we can march forward on our own revolutionary integrity. Comrade Zucker advances this argument: They, the Right Wing, will control the organization. If the Right Wing controls the organization, then the answer is contained in the majority report. Our answer will be the Communist Party. Frightened men—a weak man strikes wildly and at random. But a man who knows a why and a wherefore of his actions is poised from the moment, and when he strikes he strikes with deadly effect. And that is what we propose to do. When we strike there will be nothing left of the Right Wing or of the center. (Great applause.) Comrade Zucker appeals in the name of the revolution for what that great revolutionist Morris Hillquit in his hour of distress appeals for—a split. Morris Hillquit who was wont to fight on the barricades like a tiger, now calls, like a whipped cur, and calls, "Comrades, split—save us!" But we will split when we choose—not when they choose. (Applause.) We will split at the psychological moment, and no sooner or later. And the psychological moment is when the entire membership of the American Socialist Party have their eyes turned upon Chicago. At that moment, unless we have dominated, we will meet in a different hall in the same city, and we will compare our program with the milk-and-water program of the Rights. Then we will have a comparison, and on that comparison we can appeal to the revolutionary sentiment of the rank and file of the American working class, or the working class, as I prefer to put it, in America. Comrade Zucker also says that in Chicago we were kicked down the stairs. I am one of those who was so kicked. But are we men or are we children? If we have been kicked down the stairs, we can walk upstairs again. Our part is not to play the part of some little miss who is in a huff because of a rebuff. Our part is the part of revolutionists who will march on unheeding these rebuffs. Hillquit calls for a split, and Comrade Zucker tries to tell you that at Chicago they will be attempting to avert a split. If they will change the opinion sounded by the spokesman of Scheidemann Socialism in America, it will be because they know that with us lies the spirit of the future of American Socialism. (Great applause.)

Hiltzik: I want to take the statement of Comrade Ruthenberg. He says the reason why we should not split now and wait until the call, is, because there is a feeling of loyalty towards the Socialist Party on the part of the delegates. Now, Comrades, I would like to ask how many there are here in this room who feel a loyalty to the Socialist Party. I know that I, for one, who have been giving away the greatest part of my time and energy in the Socialist movement, have lost loyalty to the Party, and so did many comrades who are working with me in the Left Wing. Comrade Ruthenberg makes an appeal that we should wait until we capture the machinery, because we have captured the party already. I say that we have captured the party already, and therefore we should ignore the machine and proceed with the organization of a Communist Party (Applause.) What do we want to capture? That is the question before you. The

comrades have been talking of capturing three or five months ago. They are also talking of capturing today. All it means now is to capture the furniture in the office. And now, comrades, do you expect that those well-trained politicians will give up their property? They consider it their property and not yours. They said it time and again, and no matter what you say, no matter how big a majority you have, they are going to hold fast, they are going to hold the property and declare themselves the Socialist Party. What are you waiting for? You were not lucked hard enough? (Laughter.) Comrade Ruthenberg wants to wait until we come to Chicago, and they will tell us that we are officially kicked out. Until now we have been kicked out unofficially. He says that he will sit at the convention—he! The Left Wing! Will the comrades of Michigan help elect a chairman? Will the federations, thirty thousand, help elect a chairman? Will the comrades of New York help elect a chairman? No! Because they are already expelled, and they will not be permitted to go there. Comrades, I have also learned from the experience at Boston, at the convention of the Jewish Federation—we also—many of us came there. You say that we will go to Chicago and capture the convention, because we are in the majority. What have they done in Boston? The very same thing that the machine in the party has done. They have expelled the Left Wing branches before they had a chance to have their delegates express their opinions. They voted for their officials, for their Credentials Committee, before they admitted the Left Wing delegates, and then they decided that they did not belong there,—that these branches did not exist—that those members were not members of the Socialist Party, and therefore had no business at the convention. That is the very same thing that is going to be done by the Right Wing. What are you waiting for now?

There is a statement by Comrade MacAlpine, and that is, "We will capture the Party and we will have the whole rank and file with us." Now, Comrades, this is the very same thing that the bourgeois democracy wants us to do—wait until we capture the entire working class, and then we will establish Socialism. And we say no. Though we are in the minority, if we are the revolutionary Socialists, if we know what the working class wants, we are going to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in spite of the ignorance of the majority. We shall do it now,—not wait until we get the majority—the ignorant majority, perhaps, or the official majority, or some that are following the machine. We have the rank and file with us officially or not. We are going to establish a Communist Party and the rank and file will flock to us. Now, comrades, you either decide to establish the Communist Party or you decide to annihilate the Left Wing. If this conference is disbanded without any decision about establishing a Communist Party, it will mean that we are going to lose the confidence of the rank and file, and they will not have confidence in the present leaders of the Left Wing. Comrades, the rank and file have followed you until now because they hoped that this conference would build a Communist Party for them. But if they are disappointed in you, they will establish a Communist Party over your heads. Then, Comrades, you will have to come to them, and you will come secondary in importance and not the leaders, as you would be if you said the word now. You will be in the same position as are those traitors of the party that are now

waiting to see how the official majority will go. Whether it will be with them or against them. Comrades, don't make that mistake. Don't go away from this place tonight, without deciding to have a Communist Party. (Great applause.)

Ballam: Comrade Chairman and Comrades: The proposition that we have to consider is a serious one, and one which every one here need hesitate to make up his mind definitely. Those comrades from New York who are in close touch with each other, and who have fought this matter out among themselves, are in a very different position in this conference than the comrades who have come here as delegates from states and from locals recently adopting the Left Wing program. I am one of these delegates. Now, the Left Wing program to me as an individual, is not a new one except in some of its phases. I have been on the Left, I have been in the minority of a minority ever since I have been a member of the Socialist Movement, and that means since 1898. Now, Comrade Zucker mentions 1912 and 1917. But, 1912 and 1917 is not 1919. The conditions that existed then—the minds of the comrades and the conditions and environment existing at that time were not the same as they are now. What the officials of the Socialist Party could do then and get away with I maintain they cannot do to-day in the present state of mind of not only the class-conscious-workers organized in the Socialist Party, but of the working class in the United States, that the Socialist organizations throughout the world are watching the Left Wing conference. They are watching it from the Rand School, from the *New York Call* and from Chicago, and they are anxious—tickled to death to have a movement of separation at this time. Now, don't mistake me. Don't misunderstand me—you who have gone to the Left of the Left. I sympathize and I understand your position. I understand it only too well. I could not blame you at all—you who have been outlawed and expelled for wanting to take advantage of what you considered the psychological moment. But to you Russian comrades I would say—remember what Marx says, "The proletariat of each country will have to deal with its bourgeoisie in its own country first." (Applause.) The Russian comrades in Russia, the Hungarian comrades in Hungary, and the Spartacans in Germany, and in other countries, are dealing with their bourgeoisie and dealing with them well. Now, it is up to us, and remember that we have a movement peculiar to and conditioned by the historical traditions and backgrounds existing on this continent. In view of this fact, we have to deal with a large percentage of unemotional Anglo-Saxons, whose psychology is moulded by Anglo-Saxon traditions, history and psychology. We have to deal with that, and we have to take into consideration, that these members of the Party are not emotional, and that they are not stirred with us yet. We have the majority with us on the proposition of organizing the Left Wing Conference, but we may not have them with us to organize a Communist Party here and now. They may repudiate that action, while they may be willing to back up in the convention in Chicago on August 30th, and then if we go there with our full strength and force the confidence of our position and the knowledge that we can win, and the determination to win, will see us through all the rest of it. Comrades, I hold it a blunder for which we will pay and pay dear, to be not an error in principle, but in tactics, if we adopt this resolution to-night.

Correspondence

DEAR Comrade Stoklitsky:

It is rather curious that you and I should find ourselves engaged for the moment in party controversy as opponents, after we have stood firmly shoulder to shoulder since November 7, 1918, the day when the *Communist Propaganda League of Chicago* came into existence by your initiative. I believe, however, that our opposition is more apparent than real, and I write this letter not to meet what might be regarded as a personal attack against myself and associates, but with the idea of helping to clear up the situation.

When I came back to Chicago from the Left Wing National Conference I found the few comrades with whom I had a chance to speak astounded at the idea that anyone wanted to start a new party out of the Left Wing Conference itself. I had to leave the city before your Federation group acted upon the reports of the delegates, but I have no doubt whatever that any group, fully advised of the situation at New York, would agree with the majority. You have transposed the question of *Communist Party on September 1* to the question of *Communist Party on June 21*, and give the impression, by your argument, that the majority of the Conference was opposed to taking a stand for a Communist Party. You know as a matter of absolute fact that it was only by refusal of the Federation delegates to vote on the Michigan proposition for a September 1 Convention that this was defeated.

This does not deny the fact that there were on June 21 a considerable portion of the Socialist Party membership ready for the idea of a new party, but it is equally true that this was almost exclusively the groups of expelled and suspended members. The Conference acted primarily on the basis of those who are yet members of the Socialist Party in good standing. In fact, the division within the Conference shows clearly that it was the delegates who were still members of the party who opposed the immediate formation of a new party. They wanted to conduct the Left Wing campaign within the party to a point of complete withdrawal of the revolutionary elements by September 1, realizing that in most of the States the Left Wing adherents were looking to the regular party elections as the means of making their final onslaught against the Moderates of the Socialist Party.

At New York neither you nor anyone else saw any crucial point involved in waiting two months in order to help bring into the new party the Socialist Party membership, of equally sound calibre with the suspended and expelled groups, who were sure to look to the Emergency Convention as their means of expressing a stand for revolutionary socialism. Now you classify all of the majority group as "Centrist" and "swamp," implying that the Michiganites and Federationists are the only aggressive elements in the movement. You already know my high regard for the Federation membership. I believe they are of the same courage and intense devotion to the revolutionary cause as their brothers and sisters in Russia and Hungary. It is out of such ardor and courage that revolution is born.

You know, however, that the work of Socialist education among these comrades has just begun. The idea of men like Comrade Hourwich and yourself blathering about these comrades as the "only consistent Bolsheviks" is an extreme of absurdity and demagogism. Yet I have no doubt at all but that the Fed-

An Open Letter in reply to Alexander Stoklitsky in "The Communist."

eration membership gives us an excellent basis for carrying on a big work of revolutionary socialist education. Because the English-speaking membership, for the most part, is not regimented by agencies of centralized expression, and because out of many individual reactions to the present party breakup there is bound to come much diversity of opinion as to just how to proceed, does not at all prove that this membership is of poorer calibre than the Federation membership.

By this I do not mean to make an objection to your centralized Federation control, only I call your attention to the fact that the members of the party not accustomed to accept the program of a central committee are apt to show more wavering and hesitation without in any sense being less revolutionary or aggressive than the Federation membership. I think that we must all learn the lesson of centralized control and action, providing this centralization is itself made responsive to the mass will. My objection is your misuse of the name "Centrist" as a convenient term of abuse for anyone who disagreed with you in New York on a program which you yourself never heard of until you arrived here for the Conference. When you can bring yourself to attack comrades like Lloyd and Fraina in this silly, reckless manner, you display a passion which is worthier of a better cause. You only make yourself ridiculous when you characterize your own trusted associates as unworthy simply because they differ with you as to generalship with regard to a two months' campaign—and nothing else.

Did the time for a Communist Party arrive by a miracle? No, the time is here because of organization and propaganda work. I know no individual who has contributed more to the organization work leading to a Communist Party than yourself. On the other hand, Comrades Lloyd and Fraina have done inestimable service as propagandists for revolutionary socialism, and it is only upon the foundation of this propaganda that we can now proceed with the Communist Party. That is why I cannot take lightly your methods of reckless attacks against individuals, at a time of party flux and excitement when you can demolish individuals overnight by calling them names. This shows demagogism as a substitute for principle, and it is unworthy of one who has done the valuable constructive work which must be credited to you.

Personally I do not care what attacks are made against me, either by the politicians of the Right Wing or of the Left Wing. I have long been immune to sensitiveness on the point of personal attacks. I realize, too, that it is sometimes necessary to discuss individuals as a means of getting at a question of policy, and those who participate in party work should be prepared to accept condemnation of the most extreme kind for their errors—and anything done will be wrong in the eyes of some group or other. But your general condemnation of the Left Wing is hardly excused by enthusiasm for the Communist Party. You had better blend this passionate enthusiasm with a little judgment if you expect to make it possible for others to work with you without absolutely accepting your judgment as infallible at every moment on every point.

I have been laboring here in New York for one purpose: to bring all the Left Wing elements together, in spite of the split in the Conference, on the program of a Communist Party on September 1. At this moment it appears that this goal is attained, and the majority and minority of the Conference will be rejoined by co-operation of the National Council and the National Organization Committee. Meanwhile the *Revolutionary Age* has carried on a consistent propaganda for a Communist Party, and everything done by me as National Secretary of the Left Wing has been focused on the organization of the new party. Nor am I at all loath to give the minority full credit for their contribution to the work of promoting the new party. The task is much too big for all of us together, and it will take much effort—and a spirit bigger than the bandying of names—to create in this country a real party of revolutionary socialism.

Yours in Communist Comradeship,
I. E. FERGUSON.

Petrograd in 1919

(Continued from page 11)

to fire on other Russians were given the choice, either that every tenth man should be shot, or that they should give up their ringleaders. The ringleaders, twelve in number, were given up, were made to dig their own graves, and shot. The whole story may well be Archangel gossip. If so, as a specimen of such gossip, it is not without significance. In another part of the carriage an argument on the true nature of selfishness caused some heat because the disputants insisted on drawing their illustrations from each other's conduct. Then there was the diversion of a swearing match at a wayside station between the conductor and some one who tried to get into this carriage and should have got into another. Both were fluent and imaginative swearers, and even the man from Archangel stopped talking to listen to them. One, I remember, prayed vehemently that the other's hand might fly off, and the other, not to be outdone, reorted with a similar prayer with regard to the former's head. In England the dispute, which became fierce indeed, would have ended in assault, but here it ended in nothing but the collection on the platform of a small crowd of experts in bad language who applauded verbal hits with impartiality and enthusiasm.

At last I tried to sleep, but the atmosphere in the carriage, of smoke, babies, stale clothes, and the peculiar smell of the Russian peasantry which no one who has known it can forget, made sleep impossible.

Left Wing Pic-Nic Sunday, August 24th, 1919

at EASTERN BOULEVARD PARK
formerly Hoffman's Park
Eastern Boulevard and Fort Schuyler Road,
WESTCHESTER, N. Y.

Oriental Dances by Miss Katayama
Vladimir Resnikoff, Russian Singer
and many other attractions.

A RED PICNIC — A GREAT TIME
FOR A RED CAUSE

Picnic starts at 10 A. M.

arranged by the

LEFT WING SECTION SOCIALIST
PARTY OF THE BRONX.

Tickets in advance 30c At the gate 35c.
Directions: From E. 149th St. take West-
chester Av. car and change for Fort Schuyler,
get off at the Park.

Official Left Wing News

FOR several weeks it has been the effort of the National Council and the National Secretary to ascertain and adjust the relations between the National Left Wing and the Russian-speaking Federations. The initial step was a communication from the Secretary to the Executive Committee of the Russian Federation asking for an official statement as to the stand of the Russian Federations with regard to support of the Left Wing, in view of the association of the Federations with a call for a convention issued by the minority group of the Left Wing Conference.

At the meeting of the Russian Federation Executive Committee to answer this communication the National Secretary was requested to be present to explain the questions and to give further information. As a result of this meeting invitations were sent out by the Russian Federation Executive Committee for a Joint Federation Conference, and such a Conference was held at New York, July 27th, with representatives of the National Council in attendance.

Preceding this Conference, and in direct relation thereto, the following instructions were given to the National Secretary by the National Council:

1) That we do not insist on participation in the Emergency Convention as an absolute condition of co-operation;

2) That we insist that Federation representatives shall participate in no Convention other than the Left Wing Convention called for September first by motion of the Left Wing Conference;

3) That we insist upon support of *The Revolutionary Age*, so far as the Federations as organizations can affect its support;

4) That we invite a sub-committee of the Federations to meet with the Council, provided that our call for a September first Convention is accepted, to advise on all matters and particularly as to the Convention to form a Communist Party.

As a result of the July 27th Joint Federation

Conference, the following resolution was submitted to the National Council:

"Having discussed the written statements issued by the National Left Wing Council and the telegram of the so-called 'new N. E. C.' of the Socialist Party reported by the Secretary of the National Left Wing Council, we, the Central Executive Committees of the Lettish, Lithuanian, Esthonian, Ukrainian, Polish and Russian Federations, came to the conclusion that these documents justify once again the position taken by the Minority of the Left Wing Conference, and call upon all our members to carry on the work of the creation of the Communist Party. We appeal to the comrades of the Majority group to clarify their desire in forming the Communist Party through participation in the Convention which is being called by the Minority of the Left Wing Conference on September 1st, 1919.

"In case of reply in the affirmative we are prepared to instruct our National Organization Committee to combine with the National Left Wing Council in the common work of calling the Convention for the purpose of organizing the Communist Party of America on September 1st, 1919, in Chicago.

"For the Lettish, Lithuanian, Esthonian, Ukrainian, Polish and Russian Central Executive Committees,

O. TYWEROWSKY,
Secretary

The foregoing resolution came before a regular meeting of the National Council on June 28th, and the following motion was made and carried:

1) The National Left Wing Council stands for a Communist Party on September 1st; and we repeat the call of the Left Wing Conference for a Convention on September 1st to form the Communist Party of America, inviting all revolutionary Socialist groups to join with us.

2) We invite the Minority group of the Left Wing Conference and the Federations to work with us on the basis of a September 1st Convention to form the Communist Party.

3) We associate ourselves with the N. E. C. in relation to the August 30th Emergency Socialist Party Convention only as a preliminary to the September first Communist Party Convention.

On this resolution, the vote was unanimous (7) in favor of Clause 1, and 5 in favor of Clauses 2 and 3, namely, Ballam, Cohen, Ferguson, Ruthenberg and Wolfe. Comrades Gitlow and Larkin voted for the following resolution in addition to Clause 1 above: "That we discontinue all conferences with the Federation groups, and instruct the Secretary immediately to work for the Convention called by the new N. E. C., also for the call of the National Left Wing Conference for a September 1st Convention to start the Communist Party." There were 5 votes against this resolution.

From the above record it is absolutely clear that there is no longer any valid reason for the schism in the Left Wing arising out of the Conference, no matter what may be said about the origin of the disagreement between the Majority and Minority delegates.

It is evident, also, that the National Left Wing Council, has left nothing undone to assure the Minority group of the formation of a Communist Party at Chicago on September 1st. If there should still be a refusal of the Minority to work unitedly with the National Left Wing, then there is no deduction other than that this group is out for a little Communist Party under its own control, barring other elements as "centrists" in order to make plausible this maneuvering for control. But this degree of pettiness we cannot expect from comrades who have heretofore done such splendid service in the general Left Wing movement as it has developed within the Socialist Party. It seems beyond question that the Majority and Minority will again stand united, so far as the Federations are concerned, on the program of a joint call for the September 1st Convention to organize the Communist Party.

I. E. FERGUSON, Nat. Sec'y.

Greater New York News

SECOND Bi-Weekly Letter To Enrolled Socialists—is now ready for distribution to branches. Price per hundred letters 60 cents.

Lists of enrolled voters can be purchased at this office.

* * *

All Left Wing New York Branches should elect their delegates on the basis of one for every twenty-five members to the new Left Wing N. Y. Central Committee.

* * *

Branch secretaries should send in the place and date of their meetings so they can be published in this column regularly. Also reports of activities of the branch.

* * *

Emergency Due Stamps and Emergency Party cards are now ready and can be procured at this office.

* * *

Special Propaganda Stamps are also ready and the Left Wing comrades should do their best to push the sale of these stamps among the comrades and friends and sympathizers. Every comrade should carry a book of these stamps with him to the shop and union meetings and sell them to his comrades. At the same time it gives him an opportunity of explaining the Left Wing organization to those workers who as yet are in the dark about our movement.

* * *

Push the sale of the Propaganda Stamps—It provides us with funds and offers you the chance of presenting the Left Wing case to the workers.

All comrades should get busy in their branches as the branch activities must not be neglected at this important time. Every Left Wing branch must be made stronger than ever it was in the past. We are building for the future—the Communist Party of America—and the Social Revolution. To think that you can stay home and let the branch take care of itself means only one thing—stagnation—and that must not creep into our movement. We have youth, enthusiasm and proletarian ideals on our side—this combination is invincible. Make your slogan—All

power to the Left Wing—and act upon it by becoming active in your branch.

* * *

The 18-20th A. D. will hold an Entertainment and Dance on Saturday, August 9th at Socialist Hall, 1848 Lexington Ave. The proceeds will go to rebuild the branch headquarters, raided by the Right Wing.

* * *

IMPORTANT NOTICE

Due to the tremendous success obtained at the "Left Wing Excursion" to Great Bear Mountains, last Saturday afternoon, July 12, the 1st and 2nd Assembly District Branches of the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party, decided to run a second excursion for the convenience of all those who held tickets for the first excursion and were not able to get on the boat, as well as for the benefit of their friends.

This second and last excursion will be held on Saturday afternoon, August 16, 1919. The boat will leave the Pike Street Dock at 2:30 P. M. sharp. Dancing, singing, rowing, swinging and other enter-

In accordance with the action of the Left Wing Conference, held at New York June 21st to 24th, 1919, the National Left Wing Council herewith extends an invitation to working class groups, not within the Socialist Party, but willing to join with us on the basis of the Left Wing Manifesto and Program, to send delegates to the Left Wing Convention at Chicago on September 1st.

The basis of representation is one delegate per 500 members, with lesser groups entitled to one delegate. However, since groups not heretofore within the Socialist Party will want first to confer with the Left Wing as to its policies and methods of action, we suggest the sending of fraternal delegates to this Convention.

The general purpose of the Convention will be the organization of a Communist Party on the basis of the Left Wing Manifesto and Program.

For details, please communicate with the undersigned.

I. E. FERGUSON,
National Secretary
43 W. 29th St., New York City.

tainments are on the program for this day. Tickets may be obtained at the following places: 180 Henry Street, 255 Grand Street, *Novy Mir*, 113 E. 110th St. and at *The Revolutionary Age*, 43 West 29th Street.

* * *

All Left Wing branches participating in the primary election should send in the names of the candidates so their names can be published in the "Age."

MANHATTAN BRANCH NOTICE:

Nominations for delegates to National Emergency Convention should take place in every branch immediately. Each branch is entitled to make twelve nominations. These should be sent in to this office and when all the nominations are in, a letter will be sent to all nominees asking for acceptance or declination and those accepting and otherwise qualifying as delegates (three years membership in the party) will be placed on the ballot and then sent out for referendum to the various branches.

* * *

BRONX NOTES

A reorganization meeting of Branch 3 will be held next Tuesday evening, August 12, 1919, at Berger's Lyceum, 162d Street near Prospect Avenue, at 8 o'clock.

* * *

A special meeting of the Lettish branch will be held on Saturday evening, August 9, at headquarters, 371 Willis Avenue. Voting on delegates to the National Convention will take place.

* * *

The Central Committee will hold its second meeting this coming Saturday evening, August 9 at the Fifth A. D. headquarters, 1304 Southern Boulevard. Every delegate should make it his or her business to attend.

* * *

The Left Wing Picnic Committee meets every Monday evening at the Lettish Hall, 371 Willis Ave.

* * *

Branch 1 will hold a propaganda meeting on Thursday evening, August 14, at Lettish Hall, 371 Willis Avenue. Speakers, Rose Spanier, Blanche McPherson and Louis A. Baum.

THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE

Must Have Funds Immediately

Do you want this paper to suspend publication?

Do you want its revolutionary Socialist propaganda to stop?

Unless we have \$1,000 before August 16, this paper will be forced to suspend publication.

Its increased size, its various improvements, are not covered by the price of 5 cents.

Owing to the controversy in the Left Wing movement, the donations upon which the paper is dependent have been reduced. This is only a temporary condition, but it must be overcome, now.

If you desire The Revolutionary Age to live
send donations at once to

BENJAMIN GITLOW

Business Manager

43 West 29th Street, New York City